

The MODERN LANGUAGE FORUM

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SCHRÖDER STAGES HAMLET IN HAMBURG

SEPTEMBER 20, 1776, is the date on which a most significant performance in the history of the German theater took place: The première of *Hamlet* under Schröder's direction in Hamburg with Brockmann in the title role. Though strolling players from England had played a blood and thunder version and other sporadic performances had taken place here and there before this time, it was on this day that there came into being the German enthusiasm for Shakespeare which has increased ever since to the point that Germany has far more Shakespeare performances annually than any other country in the world. Upon a successful run in Hamburg followed twelve performances in Berlin before crowded houses that made *Hamlet* all the rage. When shortly afterward the excellent translation of Schlegel appeared Shakespeare was established as a German classic. The importance of the day when Shakespeare's planet swam into the ken of German authors cannot be exaggerated in view of what he meant for the inspiration of the dramas of Lessing, Goethe, Schiller, Grillparzer, Kleist—to mention only a few of the classics. Tieck, whose name is associated with the poetic and virile standard Shakespeare translation of which Germany is duly proud, stated this fact succinctly in 1826: "Shakespeare's plays form the first and the soundest foundation of our more recent drama; our newest literature originates with him, as the Greek did with Homer."¹

It seems most fitting that Germany's appreciation of Shakespeare should have taken its start in Hamburg, the city where about a decade previously Lessing had written his *Dramaturgie* in which he unhesitatingly employs Shakespeare as his standard of criticism. For example, in the 15th part Lessing puts it as follows in comparing Voltaire's *Zaire* and *Othello*: "But is it always Shakespeare, some of my readers will ask, always Shakespeare who knows everything better than the French?" Through Lessing's brilliant criticism of the plays performed at the idealistic but abortive "German National Theater" which lasted less than two years in 1767 and 1768, as well as through the work of such distinguished actor-managers as Karoline Neuber, Ackermann, and Schröder, Hamburg citizens were perhaps the best equipped for an appreciation of

¹ Ludwig Tieck, *Dramaturgische Blätter*, 1826, II, 38 (Quoted by Merschberger, *ShJ* XXV, 208.)

Hamlet. Furthermore, since this port had close connection with London, numerous merchants of the town had seen in England the Hamlet of Garrick. A description of this great actor in the role had been published in Germany but a short time previously (a correspondence from London dated May 4, 1775, and reprinted in a Hamburg paper a month before Schröder began his rehearsals) by the critic Georg Christoph Lichtenberg² in which he says among other things about the performance in the Drury Lane Theater: "Hamlet attracted an unbelievably large number of spectators, many of whom were turned away. Garrick was Hamlet and the manner in which he played the scenes with the ghost caused the cold sweat of death to ooze out of my pores." In later letters Lichtenberg gives detailed descriptions of Garrick's manner in playing the meeting with the ghost, the monolog "To be or not to be," and the scenes with Ophelia. Garrick's presentation of Hamlet served in many respects as the model for the staging of Schröder, and one writer notes that in addition to the vital connection between the three men their dates are fortuitously linked: Shakespeare died in 1616, Garrick was born in 1716, and Schröder died in 1816.

Germany's greatest critic, Lessing, prepared the way for the *Hamlet* performance and the man who staged it, Friedrich Ludwig Schröder is generally counted Germany's greatest actor.³ His early career was as bohemian as one could desire in an 18th century picaresque novel. Born November 3, 1744, the son of an actress whose marriage went on the rocks before the child's birth because her husband was a drunkard, Schröder made his debut on the stage at the age of three. From his seventh year on he played boys' and girls' parts for which he received a regular salary, while audiences spoiled him with enthusiastic applause. In 1749 his mother married Konrad Ernst Ackerman, a very serious actor and perhaps the most distinguished manager of a troupe in his day. His parents provided Schröder with good schooling, at least at first, but his mother neglected him in the interest of the children of her second marriage, while his father alienated him utterly through brutal beatings for boyish pranks. He became so estranged from his parents that when the latter had to flee from Königsberg before the approaching

² Lichtenberg's "Garrick als Hamlet" appeared in Boie's *Deutsches Museum*, I and II, 1776. I quote from Wilhelm Widmann, *Hamlets Bühnenlaufbahn*, Leipzig, 1931, pp. 41 ff.

³ For the life of Schröder cf. B. Litzmann, *Friedrich Ludwig Schröder*, 2 Vols., Hamburg and Leipzig, 1890 and 1894; (for the bizarre character, Michael Stuart, cf. I, 122 ff., and on his *Hamlet*, II, 190 ff.). Also Adolf Hauffen, in the introduction to Vol. 139 of *DNL*.

Russian army, they left the thirteen-year-old boy behind; soon after that he was dismissed from his school because his father neglected to send his tuition. An acrobat, by the name of Michael Stuart, and his wife then looked after the boy; from this man Schröder heard for the first time of Shakespeare as Stuart was also something of an actor and Wieland's Shakespeare translations appeared in the sixties the boy liked to recite entire scenes from *Othello*, *Hamlet*, and *Lear*. When devoured them and they remained his favorite reading.

When he was in his fourteenth year his parents recalled the boy who then had to wander on foot through the whole of Germany in which the Seven Year's War was raging in order to rejoin the troupe in Solothurn, Switzerland. His strained relationship with his step-father continued and in the course of violent scenes the two even came to blows with swords. Schröder drank, gambled, and on one occasion when pressed by creditors, he even entered his parents' bed room at night to steal from their cash box. But he was an extremely valuable asset to the troupe as an acrobat and dancer; when still a boy he composed ballets (his first one called *The Apple Thief*) and also played servants' roles and other comical parts in which he excelled through witty improvisation. When after the war the troupe settled in Hamburg, Schröder now in his early twenties, was given more important parts and showed great ambition to perfect himself as an actor, particularly by learning from Lessing's friend, Ekhof, with whom he was associated also for a time in the "Nationaltheater." In 1771 Ackermann died having previously placed the directorship of the troupe in the hands of his step-son who was then 27 years of age. Schröder was quite ready for the task, especially since an intimate relationship with the actress Susanne Mecour during the last preceding years had served to take some of the rough edges off his character and to fill him with a profound respect for the high seriousness of his art.

In the next decade Schröder through great self-discipline, tact, and hard work succeeded where others before him had failed: he established a successful theater for serious drama, the high point of which was a series of eight Shakespeare performances from 1776 to 1779. He realized what Lessing had ardently dreamed. To educate his public he had organized a circle of intelligent lovers of the theatre before whom he gave readings from Shakespeare and the Greek classics. This "comedian" associated with scholars, merchants, and others of social standing; strange as it may seem, army officers of nobility even regarded him as "satisfaktionsfähig" in duels. He devoted endless time to the training of his actors — most prominent among his pupils were Brockman (who played

Hamlet) and his two step-sisters Dorothea and Charlotte Ackermann — and established thus a well-balanced ensemble. By no means did he always appear as the star, but played whatever seemed best for the production as a whole, even women's roles or singing parts; thus in *Hamlet*, at first the ghost, while in later years he earned great renown as Hamlet and particularly as King Lear. Schröder reformed the acting of his time by following Lessing's advice in substituting for the bombast previously current in dramas written in Alexandrines a more natural speech suitable for Shakespeare. Of his later career I shall say no more than that in 48 years on the stage he played 500 roles, composed and danced 70 ballets, translated 50 dramas, and himself wrote 40 original plays, in addition to managing a troupe, staging his plays, and training his actors. He died as a country gentleman on his estate near Hamburg.

It would be an utterly false picture of Schröder's great accomplishment if we imagined that he had succeeded in winning his 18th century German audiences for Hamlet without making vast concessions to the taste and the conventions of the time. First of all, *Hamlet* had a happy ending: there is no duel with Laertes, the queen drains the poison and before she dies accuses her present husband of the murder of the dead king. Hamlet then kills Claudius, is proclaimed ruler, and mounts the throne — the Fortinbras episode being omitted also, of course. In other words, it is a family drama: the noble youth on whom a holy mission is imposed accomplishes it successfully, while the villainous tyrant who shrinks from crime receives his due punishment.⁴

In discussing the text in a bit more detailed manner it must be stated first that it was Schröder himself who arranged it. The event that had given him the courage to proceed with the presentation of *Hamlet* was a performance he had witnessed some years previously in Prague in a version arranged by Heufeld which in turn was based somewhat on Wieland's translation of 1756. Heufeld in his adaptation wished to approach the unities as much as possible and therefore he eliminated episodic elements in his desire for concentration. For example, he had the players say they would put on the Gonzago play "today" whereas Wieland had translated "tomorrow." Furthermore, in following the custom of the day of localizing dramas with a foreign setting, he made a number of Shakespeare's names Danish, for example, Polonius be-

⁴ Alexander von Weilen, *Der erste deutsche Bühnen-Hamlet*, Wien, 1914, p. XXX. This volume reprints Heufeld's version of 1772 and Schröder's of 1777 and 1778.—For a modern criticism that describes *Hamlet* as "a family tragedy" see Howard Mumford Jones, "The King in Hamlet," *University of Texas Bulletin* No. 1865, Austin, 1918.

comes Oldenholm, Horatio becomes Gustav, and so on. Schröder took over from Heufeld these names and likewise the happy ending alluded to above. He began his work August 24 and less than one month later the first performance took place.⁵ In regard to the language he frequently followed Wieland's translation; in general Schröder's prose version is clear and straightforward, but it loses most of Shakespeare's poetic touches. Likewise were the "robust" Elizabethan speeches cut out. In place of two courtiers there is only Guildenstern. Since Laertes does not leave for Paris Reynaldo is not required; neither are Voltimand and Cornelius, Osric, Fortinbras, and the gravediggers, because Schröder omitted the political relation with Norway, the duel between Laertes and Hamlet, and also the graveyard scene and Ophelia's funeral. The whole action takes place in or about the palace, and is very much concentrated in time.

Of course, most of the *Hamlet* criticism on which modern readers have been brought up had not yet been written at this time, and it is very interesting to note that the problem of Hamlet which excited and stirred the late eighteenth century was utterly at variance with what we now believe the poet intended.⁶ To these people, accustomed to find in their poets unenergetic graveyard gloom, Hamlet, the Dane, who did not, "sicklied o'er by the pale cast of thought," succumb to his fate, but who emerged as victor from the struggle, seemed like a liberator, like a man of action whose noble example could serve to inspire them to courageous deeds. Shakespeare's Hamlet who succumbs would not have offered them half the pleasure furnished by a hero who triumphs over the evil plottings of his foes.

Aside from the ending there are two further changes in the plot that must be mentioned. Claudius' prayer and Hamlet's failure to kill him come before the play-within-the-play, evidently because Schröder wanted a strong close for his third act. This has been attacked⁷ as pointless because it disturbs the logic with which Hamlet's decision to kill follows immediately upon his test of the king's guilt in the "mouse-trap"; but it can be defended on the ground that Hamlet planned his killing because of what he had learned from his father's ghost and that his failure to kill is more excusable since he is awaiting further proof. The other change is inexcusable, namely that at the end the queen confesses

⁵ R. Genée, *Geschichte der Shakespeare-Aufführungen in Deutschland*, Leipzig, 1870, p. 238. Also Litzmann, II, 191.

⁶ Litzmann, II, 207 f.

⁷ Dr. Merschberger, "Die Anfänge Shakespeares auf der Hamburger Bühne," *SAJ* XXV, 242. Also Litzmann, II, 205.

her complicity: "Hear your dying Queen! He was a murderer, your king; he poisoned my husband and this your queen — oh, that my tongue must become my accuser — agreed to the murder." This is utterly at variance with the account of the ghost, with the dumb-show, and with the queen's character as portrayed even in the rest of Schröder's version.

Just in passing attention might be called also to the difference in values the Germans have been enjoying for more than a century in the poetic Schlegel-Tieck translation as contrasted with Schröder's prose translation which discards practically all imagery and metaphors. I shall quote merely two brief examples:^a

Schlegel: Der Morgen, angetan mit Purpur,

Betritt den Tau des Hohen Hügels dort.

Schröder: Der Morgen bricht an, wir wollen gehen.

Schlegel: Etwas ist faul in Staate Dänemarks.

Schröder: Es muss ein verborgenes Ubel im Staate von Dänemark liegen.

This very inferior form of Shakespeare that Schröder offered was the best the Germans of that day were able to appreciate. The time was the age of rationalism which of course means death to poetry, and furthermore it was the delicate period of the age of Werther. When Schröder, encouraged by the success of *Hamlet*, tried to give *Othello* as Shakespeare had written it, the horror of Desdemona's and Othello's death caused some terrible things to happen according to contemporary records:^b

Fainting spells after fainting spells took place during the horror scenes of this first performance. The doors of the boxes were constantly opened and slammed shut as people departed or, worse still, were carried out, and (according to credible sources) one or the other prominent Hamburg lady suffered a premature confinement as a consequence of having seen and heard this more than tragic drama.

The Senate of Hamburg then actually intervened and ordered changes; as a consequence innocent Othello and Desdemona survived while the villain Iago was duly dispatched. In this diluted form the play was a great success as were also *The Merchant of Venice*, *Measure for Measure*, *A Comedy of Errors*, *King Henry IV*, and *King Lear*—in which, to be sure, Cordelia also survived.

To show that such violations of Shakespeare's plots were not German atrocities only I shall quote descriptions of an English "improvement" of Shakespeare, Tate's version of *King Lear*:¹⁰

^a Quoted in Merschberger, p. 250.

^b Johann Fr. Schütze, *Hamburgische Theatergeschichte*, Hamburg, 1794, p. 454.

¹⁰ Quoted from Hazelton Spencer, *Shakespeare Improved*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1927.

The final scene shows a prison. Lear is asleep with his head in his daughter's lap when the assassins enter. Cordelia begs to be strangled first, but as the soldiers begin their task, Lear "snatches a Partizan, and strikes down two of them; the rest quit Cordelia, and turn upon him. Enter Edgar and Albany—in the nick of time. The former's remarks would cause almost anyone to desist from murder:

Edg. Death! Hell! Ye Vultures hold your impious Hands,
Or take a speedier Death than you wou'd give....
My dear Cordelia, Lucky was the Minute
Of our Approach, the Gods have weigh'd our Sufferings;
W'are past the Fire, and now must shine to ages.

Albany assigns the whole kingdom except his marriage-portion to Lear, who gives it to Cordelia. Edgar brings the news of her sister's deaths. Lear bestows his blessing on the lovers, and proposes to retire with Gloster and Kent to some cool cell where they may cheerfully pass in calm reflection the little remainder of their lives. The play ends with a mealy-mouthed speech by Edgar. (P. 249) ..

Tate's version held the stage for a century and a half. Even Dr. Johnson defended his changes, on the ground that the original tragedy is too terrible and that innocence is better rewarded on the stage than afflicted. (P. 251).....

Worst of all is the so-called happy ending. In Tate's alteration the principle of poetic justice receives the most pitiable sacrifice in all the English drama. (P. 252)....

Tragic grandeur which elevates Shakespeare's heroes while at the same time it crushes them was quite beyond the conception of the audiences of that day; what they wished to see on the stage were average people like themselves whose fate proceeded along the lines of a very prosaic type of poetic justice. I have adopted this term from Butcher, who gives Aristotle's view of tragedy in his discussion of Chapter XIII of the *Poetics*:¹¹

The character of the ideal hero is deduced not from any ethical ideal of conduct, but from the need of calling forth the blended emotions of pity and fear, wherein the proper tragic pleasure resides. The catastrophe by which virtue is defeated and villainy in the end comes out triumphant is condemned by the same criterion; on similar principle, the prosaic justice, misnamed poetical, which rewards the good man and punishes the wicked is pronounced to be appropriate only to comedy.

In addition to the desire to conform to the unities as much as possible there was another reason why Schröder reduced his scenes, for at the time it was customary to make the changes in stagesetting within

¹¹ S. H. Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, Macmillan, London, 1923, p. 224. f.

the act while the curtain was up.¹² The backdrop was raised and another lowered in its place; if the painted scene contained a door stagehands appeared and inserted it in full view of the audience. There was thus an alternation of shallow and deep sets. Only five sets were required for Hamlet: Act I was played throughout on the platform before the castle. Act II, 1. A room in Oldenholm's (Polonius') house; 2. The platform before the castle. Act III. The interior of the palace (one set). Act IV, 1. Hall of the palace prepared for the play-within-the-play. 2. The room of the queen. Act V. Again the palace exterior.

The first set, the platform before the castle, evidently was a bit complicated, still there was ample time to erect it before the play began. But Schröder avoided changing it within the act, in fact he allowed it to stand until the end of Act II. For Polonius' room he lowered a middle drop and changed the foremost wings. Evidently because all the characters involved in the scene of Laertes' farewell in Act I could not find room on the shortened stage he did not introduce a throne room, but had this scene take place outdoors on the platform. For the appearance of the ghost in the latter part of Act II the entire stage was used again, which was desirable in order to present the ghost as far from the spectators as possible. Stage lighting was effected by means of lamps or candles set in the wings and the darkening of the stage was possible, but not nearly so convenient as it is today. Act III is a hall in the palace, a set such as every theater possessed. The act closes with the king's prayer which is followed by the stage direction, "Rises and steps to the front," indicating that he had been kneeling in the rear of the hall, the only set for this act. Act IV requires a palace room prepared for the play-within-the-play and because the small stage at the back required some time to set it up, Schröder placed this scene at the beginning of the act. In the later scene with Guildenstern which takes place in the same room Hamlet comes by his flute very naturally, as he simply takes it from the orchestra-stand before the little stage. For the queen's room a middle drop was lowered. Act V could be played entirely in the palace interior.

At the time of the Berlin performance of *Hamlet* the Polish-German artist Chodowiecki made 15 illustrations which have been studied by Dr. Bruno Voelcker in order to learn what light they shed on Schröder's staging. The scene in his mother's room in the course of which Hamlet makes the "Hyperion to a satyr" comparison is shown without pictures or tapestries on the walls such as were used in Shakespeare's day;

¹² Bruno Voelcker, *Die Hamlet-Darstellungen Daniel Chodowieckis* (ThF No. 29) Leipzig, 1916, p. 73 f.

Voelcker concludes¹³ that Brockman, like Garrick, used two medallions which he wore about his neck. In general the stage appears very bare in Chodowiecki's prints, usually only one chair is shown in a room; if more chairs were required they were pushed on the stage when needed. At times both the king and queen are shown seated, but in the final scene there is again only one chair; convention required that when a male character was killed he should fall on the ground, but women sank back in a chair as they died — it is thus that Chodowiecki's illustration shows the king and queen.

About ten years ago a much discussed performance in New York showed Hamlet in evening clothes; the great Garrick in the middle of the 18th century proceeded on the same principle by playing the part of the medieval Dane in the fashionable gentleman's garb of his own day: knee-breeches, hose, buckle-shoes, lace ruffles, etc. Johann Franz Hieronymus Brockmann, originally an Austrian, then 31 years of age, to whom Schröder assigned the part, preferred not to imitate Garrick in this particular. He followed tradition to be sure by appearing in black, in mourning for his father's death, but in a kind of ideal costume, rococo garb under a flowing Spanish cloak with a sailor collar, on his head a barret with three ostrich plumes, and, to set off the black color of this ensemble, a white ruffle and white cuffs. About his waist he wore a scarf which supported a sword and allowed a huge white handkerchief to protrude. The last named article was an essential on the stage of the day, because it was required to indicate tears, and in playing Hamlet Brockmann made ample use of it;¹⁴ for example at the words, "But break my heart: for I must hold my tongue" (I, 2); or, "Alas, poor ghost" (I, 5) he mopped his eyes, as well as in the meeting with his friends, discussed in detail below. Brockmann's Hamlet was sufficiently *larmoyant*.

Schröder played the ghost in a suit of armor, as the lines of the play indicate, and instead of a helmet he wore a crown;¹⁵ in addition to this he wore a purple cloak. King Claudius appeared in a "rose-colored, richly embroidered Turkish gown"—which some critics regarded as scarcely suitable. The queen and Ophelia appeared in hoopskirts, moderately bulky so as not to incommode them on the stage; they did not wear black however, allowing Hamlet to stand out in sharp contrast. These costumes indicate the general confusion as to the style to be fol-

¹³ Voelcker, p. 88 ff.

¹⁴ Voelcker, p. 98-104.

¹⁵ Voelcker, p. 104 ff.

lowed in costumes for historical plays at the same time when the revolt against the practices of the French stage was getting under way.

In regard to coiffure the French mode was generally followed of having the hero appear with his hair hanging down his neck in a braid, no matter whether he was an antique Roman, a medieval knight, or a contemporary. Brockmann was one of the first to venture on the stage without a powdered wig; his hair "flowed down his shoulders in beautiful locks"¹⁰ In this respect he was also closer to Shakespeare, for the ghost speaks to Hamlet of a tale he could unfold that would cause

The knotted and combined locks to part
And each particular hair to stand on end
Like quills upon the fretful porpentine. (I, 4)

This, to be sure, would scarcely apply to a hero in a wig.

In regard to the grouping of three or more characters on the stage Schröder had the principle that actors should stand in a semi-circle, all facing the audience; even when it would have been the natural thing for a player to turn his back to the audience, as for example when a group was seated at table, he still had to preserve the *en face* position. Chodowiecki's engravings bear this out since they show, for example, in the scene, "We swear," Hamlet in the middle, a trifle to the rear, and one of his friends on either side, each facing the spectators. The illustrations exemplify another rule of the time for the grouping of characters, namely that the personage of greater dignity always stood to the right of the less important character. The picture called by Chodowiecki "The Mousetrap" shows in the rear of the stage a small theater with architectural proscenium and orchestra pit, and the player king asleep on the garden bench. The musicians, by the way, have their backs to the audience — this concession to realism was evidently made in the case of supernumeraries. The king and his court are in no particularly favorable position to see the play: they sit in two rows facing each other, half turned to the audience. On the left are first the king, then the queen, and then Polonius with courtiers and soldiers standing behind them; opposite them are Hamlet and Ophelia, Hamlet sitting on the floor intently gazing at the king, as does also Horatio who is resting his elbow on the back of Hamlet's chair. This pyramidal grouping converging from each side of the stage toward the player-stage in the rear allows the audience to observe the features of all the characters — but from the point of view of showing a group of people watching a performance on the miniature stage it is certainly unrealistic. But how

¹⁰ Voelcker, p. 121.

was Schröder to manage with the players backstage and the rule that the characters must always face the audience?

In the 18th century actors placed great emphasis on forming pleasing "tableaux" on the stage rather than assuming natural poses. Regarding the use of the feet, five positions recognized by dancing masters, were widely in vogue. For a character not immediately occupied with something there was prescribed the fourth position which Goethe, for example, in his rules for actors recommended for "the formation of a beautiful, thoughtful pose," namely placing one foot, generally the left, forward and allowing the weight of the body to rest on the other foot. This position is assumed by Hamlet's friends in the etching showing Hamlet as he questions them on the appearance of the ghost. The fifth position is more picturesque and airy: the weight rests on the forward foot while the heel of the rear foot is raised from the ground; this position is shown in the cuts as the one assumed by the ghost. This seems quite proper, for Schröder played the ghost with a light, dancer-like motion. However, Schröder in the interest of natural acting disapproved the general use of these poses; I have run across a quotation in which he says: "Who has ever seen in real life a man of the lower classes, say a peasant, artisan, or soldier, standing with his body bent back and arms outstretched in the fifth dance position? And yet we find in the theater many actors who play them in this manner."¹⁷

There was in use a somewhat similar custom regarding the arms: when an actor was standing quietly he generally folded them over his chest. Two of the engravings show Horatio and Marcellus in this pose; the monotony of such postures served to make Brockmann's individualized acting stand out by way of contrast and to win great praise for his Hamlet.¹⁸ The gesture called "portebras",¹⁹ that is the raising of the arm for no other purpose but that of a graceful pose, is found in the portrayal of the ghost, who, according to Schröder's stage directions, carried a marshall's baton.

Certain so-called "indicating" gestures were sometimes prescribed, though sparingly, in Schröder's stage directions. After the interview with the ghost Hamlet says:

Remember thee!

Ay, thou poor ghost, while memory holds a seat
In this distracted globe! (I, 5)

and at this point he inserted the stage direction, "He strikes his head."

¹⁷ Voelcker, p. 138.

¹⁸ Voelcker, p. 140.

¹⁹ Voelcker, p. 143.

In general these gestures were left to the actor's discretion. When an allusion was made to the heart, or feeling in general, it was customary to place the hand near that organ, as Ophelia does in the engravings. In prayer one raised one's hands to heaven and at the mention of God the actor pointed to the loft. Thus when Brockmann speaks Hamlet's words which serve merely as an excuse to get away from his friends:

And for my own poor part
Look you, I'll pray. (I, 5)

he raises his hands as in prayer; this makes a fine pose, but it is out of all proportion to the emphasis Shakespeare would place on these words.²⁰

As one of the non-stereotyped gestures which Brockmann introduced and which became for some time traditional we might mention the pointing with the index finger at the words:

To die, to sleep;
To sleep: perchance to dream; ay, there's the rub. (III, 1)

This seems a spontaneous, fitting gesture.²¹ The illustration showing Hamlet with Ophelia presents another happy touch in Brockmann's acting. At his deeply affectionate yet bitterly cynical words:

What should such fellows as I do crawling between earth and heaven?
We are arrant knaves all; believe none of us. Go thy ways to a nunnery. (III, 2)

we see Hamlet in a gesture of increasing trust and confidence "grasping her by the hand in a friendly manner," as Schink describes it. In some respects Brockmann followed the description of Garrick's acting, as when on the appearance of the ghost he dropped his hat or employed the 18th century gesture of horror, i.e., spreading the fingers as far apart as possible.

Contemporary writers say of Brockmann that he "possessed everything²² that human fantasy had imagined in the way of mental and physical properties for the ideal conception of the 'hero'." He had a handsome face with high forehead, was not too tall, slightly inclined to corpulence, with curly hair flowing down to his shoulders, expressing a soft gentleness rather than aggressive virility in his features and movements. In his slight corpulence he resembled Garrick, as well as Richard Burbage, the first interpreter of Hamlet, for whom according to tradition the words of Gertrude were written, "He is fat and scant of

²⁰ Voelcker, p. 149.

²¹ Voelcker, p. 151.

²² Voelcker, p. 167 ff.

breath." In Hamburg and later in Berlin Brockmann scored a sensational success; in the latter city a historian of the theater reports.²³

His very first role, Hamlet, in which within a very short time he appeared twelve times made him the favorite of Berlin. When Brockman played here for the last time he received a curtain call; this honor had previously not been accorded in Berlin to anyone.

Hamburg citizens who had been to London gave him the sobriquet "The German Garrick." Judicious critics²⁴ agree that Brockmann did not possess grand passion which seems to consume the actor and moves the spectator to the depth of his being. He was greatest in roles in which he could move from melancholy to humor, causing his audience to weep and laugh in rapid succession. His features were extremely expressive; for example, without any distortion he could convey at once mockery coupled with servile humility. His whimsical presentation of Hamlet evidently displeased the more thoughtful critics. Moses Mendelssohn who went to see Brockmann's *Hamlet* four times²⁵ to compare him with Garrick states that the Englishman did less and achieved more than Brockmann, because the latter introduced too many imitative gestures and vivacious movements into his presentation.

Another critic, Johann Friedrich Schink²⁶ (1755-1835), after having seen twelve performances, wrote what amounts to practically a book on Brockmann's *Hamlet*; and I shall cite here one characteristic passage describing a scene of which he approves unreservedly (he disapproves of the too whimsical, almost comedial, presentation of the Hamlet-Ophelia scenes):

What distinguishes Brockman especially as a great actor is the extraordinary expressiveness of his face. . . . The scene which I am about to analyse bears this out. His eyes, moist with emotion, stare down to the ground and an aura of black thoughts shrouds his forehead. His friends approach him, he recognizes them, dries his eyes, and stifles, as it were, the tears about to break forth. A gay smile comes over his cheeks and eyes—but it is only the smile of the dawning day. Into the midst of his gaiety there intrudes a sombre melancholy which draws dark wrinkles over his forehead—this expression reminded of a few pale sun beams breaking through dark clouds, hospitality and cordiality in mind, jokes with them and asks what brings them hither? Upon the answer of Gustav (Horatio):

My Lord, I came to see your father's funeral

²³ C. M. Plümicke, *Entwurf einer Theatergeschichte von Berlin*, Berlin und Stettin, bei Friedrich Nicolai, 1781, pp. 292 and 293.

²⁴ Litzmann, II, 107 f.

²⁵ Quoted in Monty Jacobs, *Deutsche Schauspielkunst*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 261.

²⁶ Quoted in Jacobs, p. 255 ff.

the smile on his face again begins to wane, the expression of melancholy on his forehead increases; but when he collects himself he admixes to his gloom a dash of gay humor and attempts to hide his embarrassment by means of a whimsical turn:

I pray thee, do not mock me, fellow-student;

I think it was to see my mother's wedding.

Gustav's answer:

Indeed, my lord, it follow'd hard upon
strikes a raw spot in his wounded soul so harshly that it arouses his grief—he forgets himself, and though he attempts to retain the gay, mocking tone, his anger carries him away, so that in the following speech bitterness is far more dominant than lightness:

Thrift, thrift, Horatio, the funeral baked-meats

Did coldly furnish forth the marriage tables.

Now he has completely lost control of himself—he forgets his assumed airiness entirely and breaks out in extreme anger and in the most violent pain:

Would I had met my dearest foe in heaven

Or ever I had seen that day, Horatio!

Since his wrath, as it were, stifles him, he gains time to perceive that he had allowed his feelings to overcome him—therefore he attempts to dissemble them—he lets his tone sink down to melancholy and with folded hands, his glance raised to Heaven, he says, as though in ecstasy:

My father, methinks I see my father.

This leads Gustav in a natural transition to tell of the vision he saw the preceding night.

At this point I wish I might be able to give the reader a clear picture of Brockmann's excellent facial play: how at Gustav's narration the dark cloud on his forehead gradually passes away, his eyes begin to protrude in eagerness, how fear, curiosity, resolution, and amazement in turn mingle in his features—how true, how masterful the change in his tone appears! But something of this sort one must see and hear—

In the midst of the praise of Brockmann the critic Reimarus²⁷ raised his voice to say, "That's all very well and it's quite right that you like it. But why do you always speak only of Brockmann? Look at the ghost! Admire the ghost! He is more capable than all the rest taken together!" An actor by the name of Müller²⁸ who was scouting in Hamburg for good actors reported back to his native Vienna: "(Schröder), a tall gaunt man, played the subordinate role of the ghost with an amount of simulation that caused me to shudder. He did not walk—he seemed to soar through the air. A dull, hectic voice that he had assumed and which he retained to the end was exceedingly effective."

²⁷ Litzmann, II, 200.

²⁸ J. H. F. Müller, *Abschied von der Hof- und Nationalbühne*, Wien, 1802, p. 107 f.

Of Ophelia a contemporary Hamburg paper reported²⁹, "Mam-sell Ackerman played Ophelia excellently. The scene, as beautiful as it is difficult to play, in which Ophelia becomes insane she presented in a masterly fashion. This is the only scene in which the great Shakeseare permits the spectators to relieve their tense suspense with a few tears." Claudius who is not made an unimportant character in Schröder's version was played by Johann Friedrich Reinecke "with the full energy of a political character, impressive, worldly-wise, ready for any crime."

Though much fault can be found with Schröder's version of Hamlet, there was one fault which he did not commit: he did not add anything of his own. (Even Goethe in his version of *Romeo and Juliet* and to a lesser extent Schiller in his *Macbeth* sinned in this respect.) Schröder presented only Shakespeare and for that reason he deserved the applause he received; his audiences by no means wanted all of Shakspeare but they did want Shakespeare. As time went on Schröder added more and more of Shakespeare that had at first been cut. He realized that in Shakespeare even a minor part requires an actor who is every inch an artist; with this in mind he chose his actors carefully and trained them to the extent that he would hold readings of plays that had been performed as often as forty times.³⁰ His own example was most potent in achieving the winning of Germany for Shakespeare, for Schröder lived up to his motto:³¹ "It does not interest me in the least to shine or to stand out as the star, I want to supply what is needed and to be something genuine. I want to accord to each role what belongs to it, no more and no less. By this means each part must become what no other part can be." Therefore Tieck could epitomize the great artist, "As soon as Schröder appeared, one became absorbed in the work of art and lost sight of the actor."

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Abbreviations: ShJ—Shakespeare Jahrbuch; DNL—Deutsche Nationalliteratur;
ThF—Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen

²⁹ Litzmann, II, 195.

³⁰ Merschberger, p. 264. (Quoted from Schröder's letter to Gotter, January 31, 1778.)

³¹ Litzmann, II, 311.

LECONTE DE LISLE

With the appearance of Gautier's *Emmaux et Camées* in 1852, the poetical expression of France assumed a new trend. Although romanticism still continued with Hugo and some others, that movement was certainly not dominant. During the period from approximately 1850 to 1890 when the decadents and symbolists come to the front, we find a very rich and copious production, the work of a host of poets, to which it has become usual to give the term Parnassianism. The title itself is somewhat of an accident. The Parisian publisher Lemerre put forth in 1866 an anthology of contemporary poetry under the name "*Le Parnasse Contemporain*." This collection was followed by a second edition in 1869, and by a third in 1876. More than a hundred authors are represented in these three anthologies. The Parnassian expression is not a unified movement such as romanticism or classicism. It had no manifesto in the form of Du Bellay's *Déffense* for the Pléiade or Hugo's *Préface du Cromwell* for the romanticists. The multitude of poets, although they may be grouped in several general classes, are strongly individual in their attitudes and methods. In fact, the only quality in common is perhaps the doctrine, first enunciated by Gautier, of art for art's sake. Beauty was sought for its own sake and was its own reward.

If this movement had any definite leader, it was Leconte de Lisle. He was openly acknowledged as such by some, and tacitly admitted by others. Practically all the Parnassians, as well as the later symbolists and decadents, came into contact with him in his salon and, as in the case of Verlaine, began their careers more or less under his inspiration. Hérédia bears testimony to the esteem in which he was held: "Pour nous tous . . . ce grand poète a été un éducateur admirable, un maître excellent." His name is the most important one in French poetry of the nineteenth century, with the possible exception of Hugo's, and he impressed his contemporaries by his precept and example. Finally, he represents the connection of Parnassianism with the romanticism of Vigny and, as Kramer has shown,¹ the continuation of the influence of Chénier.

Perhaps the most surprising thing in connection with him is the long-continued misunderstanding of his real meaning. His contemporaries speak of him as the apostle of "impassibilité" and they style him "le grand impassible." Drawing superficial conclusions from such poems as *Bhagavat* and *La Vision de Brahma*, in which he draws upon the spirit of Buddhism, they ascribe to him an icy indifference to all

¹Kramer: *André Chénier et la poésie parnassienne*. Paris, 1926.

human affairs and a conviction of the futility of all things. Since the beginning of the present century, the erroneousness of such a view has been fully demonstrated in a series of studies by Estève,² Vianey,³ Le Blond,⁴ Guinandeau,⁵ Dornis,⁶ Kramer,⁷ Ducros,⁸ and various others. These studies reveal our poet as an ardent soul, vitally concerned with the social, political and philosophical problems of his age, as a man who sought a solution of the riddle of existence, an understanding of the efforts of mankind, and, finally, as one disillusioned by events, who took refuge in the proverbial ivory tower of Beauty.

The family of Leconte de Lisle was bourgeois, established in Brittany at the end of the seventeenth century. His father, an army surgeon in 1813 who returned to civil life in 1815, was of an adventurous disposition, and emigrated to the Ile de Bourbon in 1816. He married there and our poet was born in 1817. His mother's dowry consisted of landed property and slaves; his father abandoned professional life and became a planter. Leconte de Lisle was sent back to Brittany when only three years of age. There he received his first schooling, returning seven years later to the Ile de Bourbon for ten more years in the tropics. At the age of twenty, he again went to Brittany for five years, after which came a period of travel, two more years in the Ile de Bourbon, and finally a return to France and a definite settlement in Paris. From his letters and other documents it is very evident that when he was in France he longed for the softer climate and the brighter sun of his native island; yet, when in the tropics, he was ever consumed by the desire to return to the land of his ancestors.

Our information concerning the poet's formative years is almost wholly derived from his own accounts and from his letters to his comrade Adamolle, the son of a wealthy planter in the Ile de Bourbon. There is talk of the future, of glory, poetry, politics and religion. The atmosphere surrounding the two young men in the Ile de Bourbon was distinctly conservative and traditional, yet they show themselves demo-

²E. Estève: *Leconte de Lisle, l'Homme et l'Oeuvre*. (n. d.)

³J. Vianey: *Les Sources de Leconte de Lisle*. Montpellier, 1907.

⁴M-A. Le Blond: *Leconte de Lisle d'après des documents nouveaux*. Paris, 1906.

⁵Benj. Guinandeau: *Leconte de Lisle, Premières Poésies et lettres intimes*. Paris, 1902.

⁶Jean Dornis: *Essai sur Leconte de Lisle*. Paris, 1909. *Hommes d'action et de Rêve*. 1921. *La Sensibilité dans la poésie française*. Paris, 1912.

⁷*op. cit.*

⁸Jean Ducros: *La retour de la poésie française à l'antiquité grecque. Leconte de Lisle*. 1919.

crats and free-thinkers. They detest kings and abhor priests. We have a glimpse of a small group of enthusiastic youths, of whom Leconte de Lisle appears to have been the chief. No doubt he drew many of his ideas from Voltaire, of whom his father, like all revolutionary spirits, was a great admirer. Our future poet appears distinctly anti-clerical. In fact, his basic ideas remained consistent throughout his life. At twenty, the nature of the man was already formed.*

It is consequently easy to understand that when, in 1837, he came back to a France of unrest and dissatisfaction he became an ardent supporter of the social philosophy of Fourier and of the humanitarian agitation that culminated in the revolution of 1848. He wrote his first verse for such ephemeral journals as *La Démocratie pacifique* and *La Phalange*, the organs of the socialist propaganda. He and his friends hoped for the greater welfare of the masses; they were depressed and disillusioned. This disillusionment changed his entire activity. However, it is exceedingly important to keep constantly in mind his leanings toward the humanitarian movements for his poetry must be interpreted always in the light of this point of view.

Up to this time he had had no financial anxieties because he received a good allowance from his father who had grown rich in the slave trade. But, faced with the problem of getting his support from such a source, he broke with his father who, shortly after, was practically ruined by the abolition of slavery in the French colonies. Leconte de Lisle determined to rely upon poetry to maintain himself. Of course, he was poor, but he was conscious of being true to his ideals, and he had learned to be content with little. His attitude brought him the respect and affection of his many friends and they aided him very delicately. In 1863, in spite of the fact that he was an avowed republican, Napoleon III rewarded him with a pension. Threatened with poverty in 1872,—for the pension ended with the fall of the Second Empire—he was given the position of librarian of the Sénat, which his friend Coppée generously resigned on condition that Leconte de Lisle receive the post. In 1886 he was elected to the Académie, receiving the chair vacated by the death of Hugo to whom he paid an eloquent tribute in his *discours de réception*. Eight years later, in 1894, he died at the ripe age of seventy-six.

In comparison with Sully-Prudhomme and Banville, Leconte de Lisle was not a prolific writer; in this respect he resembles Vigny whom he admired most among the romanticists. His reputation was estab-

*Estève: *op. cit.*, pp. 19-21.

lished by the *Poèmes Antiques* (1852). His other volumes of verse are the *Poèmes Barbares* (1862), the *Poèmes Tragiques* (1884) and the *Derniers Poèmes* (1895),—the last title being somewhat misleading, for most of the poems were written prior to 1870. There are also two prose works, a *Catéchisme républicaine*, which springs from the social and political agitation of the Orleanist monarchy, and a *Histoire populaire du Christianisme* (1872) which expresses his anti-clerical thought. A number of prefaces and discours complete the list of his writings. Leconte de Lisle is frank in acknowledging the sources of his inspiration, but he protests against the charge that he is an imitator. In his *discours académique* he tells us that his first impulse to write poetry came from Hugo's *Les Orientales*. George Sand he styles the "priestess of art." He admired Chénier and Vigny, but speaks slightly of Musset. Lamennais was a sage at whose feet he sat; Louis Ménard introduced him to the study of Greek antiquity. He seems to have been greatly appreciative of Byron,—one of his greatest poems, *Qaïn*, certainly has much of the Byronic touch.

The *Poèmes Antiques* reveal Leconte de Lisle's concern with the religions of the world. He was interested in them as a philosopher, not as a mystic, as was Ménard. The latter sought reasons for belief; the former was simply curious about the myths and theogonies that mankind has cherished. Chateaubriand, Hugo, Vigny and many others of the period were attracted by the notion of tracing the outline of the development of human ideas. Leconte de Lisle was similarly influenced but is independent in his attitude. He criticises Hugo's *Légende des Siècles*, saying that Hugo did not "accorder une part égale aux diverses conceptions religieuses dont l'humanité a vécu, et qui toutes ont été vraies à leur heure puisqu'elles étaient les formes idéales de ses rêves et de ses espérances." He seems to feel that all life, and the world of phenomena are but a reflection of the Divine Illusion, and that they have no real existence. The stoic pessimism that comes to him from Vigny suggests that our only reason for enduring life is this same illusion. And, since mere illusion is a poor substitute for reality, our only freedom must come from death, and being absorbed into nothingness.

During the decade 1840-1850, the *Ramayana*, the *Mabharata*, the *Vedic Hymns* and the *Bhagavat-Purana* had been translated by English, German and French students of Sanskrit. The Buddhist notions of asceticism, freedom from earthly passions, ecstasy and Nirvana greatly

interested Leconte de Lisle. The idea of the illusiveness of all things is the theme of *La Vision de Brahma*, in which we find the lines:

Mais rien n'a de substance et de réalité,
Rien n'est vrai que l'unique et morne Eternité;
O Brahma! toute chose est le rêve d'un rêve.

if this be true, then:

L'homme impassible voit cela, silencieux.

which is the conclusion reached by Vigny in *Le Mont des Oliviers*:

Seul le silence est grand; tout le reste est faiblesse!

Leconte de Lisle's conception of the essence of Buddhist faith is best shown in *Bhagavat*, wherein are typified the chief problems that torment mankind. The poem starts with an overture provided by nature, and the nature element constitutes a soft accompaniment to the narrative portions. Three Brahmins are sitting in meditation amid the exuberance of animal and plant life. The first, Maitreya, tells of his vain love for a beautiful maiden. Because his hopes cannot be realized, he seeks annihilation. The second to speak is the wise Narada, who laments the loss of his beloved mother; his wish is that all recollection be blotted out. The third Brahmin, Angira, is beset by doubt and questioning as to the meaning of life. He has sought an answer in nature but has found none. He, too, would wish annihilation, "comme on plonge à la mer." As they sit lamenting, the goddess Ganga arises from the river and asks them why they are distressed. She bids them listen to her and follow her advice. Each asks a boon. Ganga now commands them to go to the mountain Kailaça where,—

Réside Bhagavat dont la face illumine.
Son sourire est Maya, l'Illusion Divine.

She disappears, and the three sages follow her directions. At the mountain Kailaça they hear the Kinnaras, the musicians of the gods, who sum up Buddhist philosophy:

Il était en principe, unique et virtuel,
Sans forme, et contenant l'univers éternel.
Rien n'était hors de lui, l'Abstraction suprême.
Il regardait sans voir et s'ignorait soi-même.
Et, soudain, tu jaillis et tu l'enveloppas,
Toi, la Source infinie, et de ce qui n'est pas
Et des choses qui sont! toi par qui tout s'oublie,
Meurt, renaît, disparaît, souffre et se multiplie,
Maya! qui, dans ton sein invisible et béant,
Contiens l'homme et les Dieux, la vie et le néant.

After a delay, Bhagavat finally appears and consents to take them into himself, where they lose their individuality and their torments.

Throughout the *Poèmes Antiques* our poet is clearly seeking to find something definite as a justification for existence. Apparently he finds this in the effort to attain to Beauty. Thus he is brought into close association with Grecian antiquity where he finds most plainly expressed that worship of the beautiful to which he devotes himself. In *Hypatie* he first laments the abandonment of the Grecian gods and the turn to a new religion. However, he finds that the spirit of Greece yet survives and follows the vanished ideals, even as Antigone followed the blind old Oedipus. Although attacked and despised, Grecian beauty still made itself felt in the Middle Ages. The poet remembers that the early Christian church banned all forms of art as evil and degrading. This attack he assails with a pagan fury that will seem almost blasphemous to the Christian believer,—

Le vil Galiléen t'a frappée et maudite,
Mais tu tombas plus grande! Et maintenant, hélas!
Le souffle de Platon et le corps d'Aphrodite
Sont partis à jamais pour les beaux cieux d'Hellas!

Yet this spirit of Grecian beauty still exists in the heart of the poet whose duty it is to keep alive the cult of that splendor which Greece created. The same idea is found in the verses on the Venus de Milo, wherein Leconte de Lisle voices the hope that the beauty of his thought may remain forever in his poem, even as the statue has kept the beauty of the form.

Leconte de Lisle was an appreciative reader of the Greek and Roman lyric poets. His imitations are filled with the sun, the soft winds, the flowers, the birds, and the harmonies of the Aegean islands. There is the suggestion of Anacreon and Sappho. And, when he turns to Rome, there are lines that Catullus might claim,—for example, the verses to Lydia:

Lydia, sur tes roses joues,
Et sur ton col frais et plus
Que le lait, coule étincelant
L'or fluide que tu dénoues.

Le jour qui luit est le meilleur:
Oublions l'éternelle tombe.
Laisse tes baisers de colombe
Chanter sur tes lèvres en fleur.

Un lys caché répand sans cesse
 Une odeur divine en ton sein:
 Les délices, comme un essaim,
 Sortent de toi, jeune Déesse!

Je t'aime et meurs, ô mes amours!
 Mon âme en baisers m'est ravie.
 O Lydia, rends-moi la vie,
 Que je puisse mourir toujours!

Also included in this collection, yet having a different note, are a number of nature poems that represent neither a repetition of classical conventionality nor the sobbing of romanticism, for nature is viewed as objectively real, yet supremely beautiful. In such poems as *Juin*, *Midi*, *Nox*, the choice of words in each case fits perfectly the subject. Finally, in the *Chansons Ecossaises*, he attempts with a real degree of success the imitation of the popular verse of an alien race. A brief citation will show how well he has grasped the spirit,—

La lune n'était point ternie,
 Le ciel était toute étoilé;
 Et moi, j'allai trouver Annie
 Dans les sillons d'orge et de blé.
 Oh! les sillons d'orge et de blé!

In his next volume, the *Poèmes Barbares*, we have the poet's effort to reconstruct the civilizations of primitive man. He turns first to ancient Israel and give us in *Qaïn* a novel conception of the first murderer. The following is a brief summary: during the Assyrian captivity, a Hebrew seer, Thogorna, has a vision of the past; he sees Cain as the avenger of his parents for their exile from Eden. This makes him in consequence the enemy of Jehovah. In a stirring passage Qaïn declaims against the injustice to Adam and Eve. Why were our first parents exiled for seeking knowledge? He demands an answer, but Jehovah does not reply. Then Qaïn voices his defiance of the divinity in a spirit wholly Promethean:

Je resterai debout! Et du soir à l'aurore,
 Et de l'aube à la nuit, jamais ne ne tairai
 L'infatigable ciel d'un coeur désespéré!
 La soif de la justice, ô Khéroub, me dévore;
 Ecrase-moi, sinon, jamais je ne ploierai!
 Ténèbres, répondez. Ou'Iahveh me réponde!

It is impossible not to see here the parallel with Vigny's *Mont des Oliviers*. In both poems there is the bitter outcry against the way that man is left without an answer to the supreme questions concerning the

meaning of good and evil, of the purpose of creation. In both, the conclusion is a proud and defiant silence.

La Vigne de Naboth is a gripping recital of the sin of Ahab. The monarch's power, his ennui, the sneers and promises of Jezebel, the farcical trial of Naboth, his murder, the setting-out to visit the vineyard, the sudden appearance of the stern Elijah, his bitter words, the terror and protestations of Ahab, the solemn pronouncement of doom: all are related in rapid and unrelenting sequence and with tremendous dramatic effect.

In *Néfèrou-Ra* we are transported to ancient Egypt in our poet's effort to seek in the legends, mythologies and religions of all races the answer to the eternal problems of the nature of God, the origin of creation, the end of existence and immortality. In the *Génèse Polynésienne* we have the story of creation according to the natives of the South Seas. Then, turning from Polynesia to Scandinavia, Leconte de Lisle gives us the Norse tale of creation in *La Légende des Nornes*. The *Vision de Snorr* represents Hell as imagined by the Vikings. In *Le Bard de Temrah* the poet turns to Ireland of the barbaric times; in *Le Cœur de Hjalmar* we are carried to a Sweden of the days of the sagas and given a picture of the dying hero who anticipates Valhalla:

Moi, je meurs. Mon esprit coule par vingt blessures.
J'ai fait mon temps. Buvez, ô loups, mon sang vermeil!
Jeune, brave, riant, libre et sans flétrissures,
Je vais m'asseoir parmi les Dieux, dans le soleil!

A similar theme is treated in *La Mort de Sigurd*, where we pass to Germany. One of the most charming poems of the collection is *Les Elfes*, which contains an element of Germanic folklore. It begins with the lines:

Couronnés de thym et de marjolaine,
Les Elfes joyeux dansent dans la plaine.

which are repeated as a refrain after each stanza. It is the tale of a knight who is riding through the moonlight and comes upon the elfs and their queen. She bids him tarry and dance, but he refuses, saying that his betrothed awaits him and that on the morrow they will wed. But the queen

. . . . de son doigt blanc
Elle touche au cœur le guerrier tremblant.

He staggers on, and meets a pale phantom, the spirit of his beloved who has died. The phantom says:

ô mon cher époux, la tombe éternelle
Sera notre lit de noce, dit-elle.
Je suis mortel! et lui, la voyant ainsi,
D'angoisse et d'amour tombe mort aussi.

In *Christine Leconte de Lisle* retells the old legend of German romanticism about the girl who rejoins her slain lover in his tomb. In *Le Massacre de Morna* the scene of the legend is Wales.

Seeking another variety of barbaric atmosphere, our poet carries us with him to Persia, and gives us in *Le Verandah* the harem, the sultry summer afternoon, the plash of the fountain, the cooing of the doves and the odor of the rose tree:

Au tintement de l'eau dans les porphyres roux,
Les rosiers de l'Iran mêlent leurs frais murmures,
Et les ramiers rêveurs leurs roucoulements doux,
Tandis que l'oiseau grêle et le frêlon jaloux,
Sifflant et bourdonnant, mordent les figes mûres.
Les rosiers de l'Iran mêlent leurs frais murmures
Au tintement de l'eau dans les porphyres roux.

When one reads these lines aloud there will come a full realization of how completely the poet can adapt his choice of words to the thought that he is seeking to convey.

But Leconte de Lisle is not content with depicting the spirit of mankind in the barbaric times and among barbaric people. He betakes himself to the animal creation and gives us an entire bestiary for, in his sight, the animals are our humbler brothers and have the same desires and impulses that men have. We find ourselves in Arabia in *Les Eléphants*. Here are the burning sands of the desert, the blazing sun, the slow, ponderous movement of the file of huge beasts trudging on over their weary path with courage and determination. In *Le Sommeil du Condor* we rise to the bare crags of the Andes; with the *Noire Chasserresse* we come upon the black panther of the jungles of Java; with *Le Jaguar* we are plunged into the green hell of the Amazonian forests.

The poet's pessimistic view of the world of human affairs comes out strongly in several sonnets of great beauty, among which *La Mort du Soleil* is particularly striking. The winter solstice approaches, the sun

is sinking to its lowest point, yet it will come again. Not so with man:

Meurs donc, tu renaîtras! L'espérance en est sûre,
Mais qui rendra la vie et la flamme et la voix
Au coeur qui s'est brisé pour la dernière fois?

Another sombre nature picture is *Le Vent froid de la Nuit* in which:

. . . la terre s'ouvre, un peu de chair y tombe:
Et l'herbe de l'obli, cachant bientôt la tombe,
Sur tant de vanité croît éternellement.

And, to complete the circle of his travels, and to express once more the thought of Death as the ultimate victor, there is the picture of the icy North in *Paysage Polaire*:

Un monde mort, immense écume de la mer,
Gouffre d'ombre stérile et de lueurs spectrales,
Jets de pics convulsifs étirés en spirales
Qui vont éperdument dans le brouillard amer.

Un ciel rugueux roulant par blocs, un âpre enfer
Où passent à plein vol les clameurs sépulchrales,
Les rires, les sanglots, les cris aigus, les râles
Qu'un vent sinistre arrache à son clairon de fer.

Sur les hauts caps branlants, rongés des flots voraces,
Se roidissent les Dieux brumeux des vieilles races,
Congelés dans leur rêve et leur lividité;

Et les grands ours, blanchis par les neiges antiques,
Ça et là, balançant leurs cous épileptiques,
Ivres et monstrueux, bavent de volupté.

We realize with distress how futile are these hasty glimpses of some of Leconte de Lisle's poetry. The thought is suggested and the technique all but ignored. One is impressed by the enormous amount of study that the poet must have done in preparation for his work. World religions, Hindu, ancient and modern philosophy, the legends and folklore of all nations and races, natural history, geography, physical science, esthetics: all have their part. To be sure, both Vianey and Estève have pointed out that Leconte de Lisle makes many errors, and that he had many misconceptions. The wonder is, not that these mistakes can be found, but that he is so regularly correct.

Contrary to the romanticist idea of the perfectability of mankind, Leconte de Lisle conceives the trend of civilization to be downward. In the preface to the *Poèmes Antiques* he says, "Depuis Homère, Eschyle et Sophocle, la décadence et la barbarie ont envahie l'esprit humain."

His attitude is a mixture of eighteenth century philosophy and nineteenth century anti-clericalism. He scorns the Middle Ages, but has scarcely less horror for the present day. He has no enthusiasm for the renaissance. In fact, the only real sympathy that he shows is for the primitive races in America or Polynesia, which still live as in the pre-historic times.

In his depiction of nature, although he traverses all, climes from the polar to the tropic, it is evident that the memory of the Ile de Bourbon is always present. His native island remained in his mind as a sort of earthly paradise, although with certain desolate aspects. It is the Ile de Bourbon that shows in the poetry dealing with India. In the Greek and Roman poems we find a simplified and conventionalized nature; it is smiling, pleasant, bucolic. His nature is fruitful, varied, mobile, brilliant. Although there may be poems in which the chill and sombreness of the North occur because of harmony of the subject, the gloom is not due to the preference of the poet. Nor is there effort to prolong a description; there are usually a few strokes of the pen and the whole scene before us in its main characteristics, as in *L'Albatross*: "Le vent du large a beau beugler, rugir, siffler, râler, miauler, pulvériser l'eau blême et déchiqueter les nuées, l'albatros vole contre la rafale." He tries to penetrate to the elementary souls of the animals. They are not regarded as automatons, made symbols of human vices and virtues, or assigned profound wisdom after the fashion of Kipling. They are ruled by elementary instincts. If they rend, tear, devour, it is nature alone that is responsible. They maintain life, as men do—by perpetual slaughter. In these darkened souls there are bits of the aspirations that have a nobler form in man. Nature, for Leconte de Lisle, is the ever-fruitful mother and the ever-open tomb. The moon is the symbol of what the earth must come to be. He sees nature as calm, implacable, and moving always according to definite laws. As a philosopher and a scientist, he recognizes that creation is renewed only by means of continual sacrifice. Leconte de Lisle's manner of looking at man and nature has both grandeur and originality. Lamartine and Hugo have nothing of this; Vigny only a little, for he is not enough of a stoic to keep from protesting. Leconte de Lisle looks to nature to free us from our miserable selves and give us the peace that the gods enjoy,—as in *Poèmes Antiques: Midi*.

Leconte de Lisle's philosophy may be called pessimistic, but his pessimism is not ignoble, trivial or unreasoned. A part is due to his heredity, physical organization and disposition; a far larger part is due to his contacts with practical life. He belonged to that generation of

1848 which looked forward to the reformation of society. The dream was a remaking of the modern world by republicanism, even as the ancient world had been remade by Christianity. By 1850 these hopes had vanished. Our poet had developed visions of a new world in a number of poems. After 1848 he revised these and removed many traces of the hopes that he could no longer keep. He had not lost faith in republicanism; he had lost faith in humanity. He still held to the dream of felicity, but he transferred it from the modern world to ancient Greece. This is the reason for Qain's nostalgia for Eden and the longing for Greece that is revealed in *Hélène*. His hellenism is thus partly love of Greek beauty, partly a desire for liberty; nevertheless, our poet did not really believe that we can make the dream come true.

We might write much upon the question of Leconte de Lisle's ideas of art. He has a reputation as an artist and some critics assert that he has nothing more than the ability to write fine lines and sketch beautiful forms. This notion is superficial. As we have seen, he has ideas on religion, history, nature, philosophy. He is not an artist exclusively, although he has personal and positive opinions on art. An *Avant-Propos*, published in the *Nain Jaune*, beginning a series of studies on contemporary poets is a fairly complete summary of his notions. He asserts: (1) that art is a luxury for the chosen few, not a common possession of the crowd; (2) it is not intended for utility or moral instruction; (3) it seeks Beauty, and this Beauty is the goal of the intellect. It is the *beauty* of a work that gives art its truth. The strength of a great artist is his genius. The artist is not disturbed by either the praise or the reproach of the crowd. Leconte de Lisle's theory rests upon a mystical and undefinable conception of beauty; art is not merely an end in itself but the "fin suprême de toute l'activité intellectuelle et morale de l'humanité." He praises Vigny as a "précurseur déjà admirable de la Renaissance moderne." He venerates Hugo and salutes in him "un grand et sublime poète, c'est-à-dire un incomparable artiste, car les deux termes sont nécessairement identiques." And we may well conclude this brief consideration of Leconte de Lisle with these same words, for to him the comment is equally applicable.

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FRANÇOIS VILLON : PORTRAIT TROIS-QUARTS¹

Nous ne pouvons pas nous faire un portrait précis de François Villon. Les traits physiques dont il nous parle le plus souvent sont, d'une part, sa maigreur, et d'autre part, le fait qu'il a le teint très noir. Voici des vers où il en parle :

Sec et noir comme escouvillon (L316)
Triste, failly, plus noir que meure (T179)
. . . . plus megre que chimere (T828)

Nous savons aussi que la nourriture a souvent manqué à ce poète qui était pourtant de nature même bon vivant et qui aimait la bonne chère :

. ventre affamé
Qui n'est rassasié au tiers (T195)

Et ici il est presque au bout de ses forces :

Trop plus mal me font qu'onques mais
Barbe, cheveux, penil, sourcis
Mal me presse (T1964)

Cela ne nous étonne pas, qu'il soit malade après ses séjours en prison, et surtout à cause de cette vie vagabonde qui ne pourvoyait guère à la nourriture. Il se peut même qu'il fût poitrinaire :

Je crache, blanc comme coton,
Jaccoppins gros comme ung esteuf. (T730)

Cependant, si le corps était chétif et mal soigné, c'est que l'esprit, le cœur qu'il renfermait, n'en était que plus éveillé et plus fertile, pourvu même de ressources quasi inépuisables.

C'est à Noël (L10) de "L'an quatre cens cinquante six" (L1) que notre poète se met à écrire les premières pièces qui nous sont parvenues. Est-ce qu'il s'était amusé à faire des vers avant cela, et s'était-il déjà fait une réputation comme versificateur ? Car, au jour où il écrit, il jouissait d'une renommée qu'il avoue être assez grande : "... le bien renommé Villon," dit-il (L314). Ou était-ce plutôt la renommée douteuse d'un vaurien, d'un débauché, d'un voleur même ? Nous croyons plutôt à

¹Le but de cette étude, c'est de faire un portrait physique et moral de François Villon, portrait basé entièrement sur ses écrits, et qui ne tient pas compte des documents qui nous expliquent en grande partie son caractère en nous fournissant souvent les raisons pour sa conduite à tel ou tel moment, et jettent ainsi une forte lumière sur sa personnalité même. Il suit donc que ce portrait n'aura pas la prétention d'être complet.

cette possibilité-ci, car plus tard il aura lui-même l'occasion de se plaindre de cette période de sa vie :

Hé! Dieu, si j'eusse étudié
Ou temps de ma jeunesse folle
Et à bonnes meurs dédié, (T201)

A l'âge qu'il a, il est aussi pauvre en biens terrestres qu'il ne l'était au jour de sa naissance. Il est d'une origine des plus humbles :

Povre je suis de ma jeunesse,
De povre et de petite extrace; (L273)

Sa mère vit toujours, la vieille dame, mais son père est mort il y a déjà bien longtemps, et c'est Guillaume Villon qui l'a recueilli tout jeune. Ce fait est d'une importance capitale dans la formation de François, qui a dû adopter de très bonne heure le nom de son bienfaiteur, car en parlant de Jehan de Calais, il l'appelle "honorabile homme" et nous fait part de cette observation intéressante :

Qui ne me vit des ans à trente
Et ne scet comment je me nomme, (T1846)

Oui, il y a là matière pour toute une histoire, sur l'influence, également bonne et mauvaise, de ce bienfaiteur dans la formation de François, qui, lui, a immortalisé cet homme par son épithète connue : "mon plus que père." Nous avons l'impression que la discipline a sans doute manqué à ce garçon, à ce fils adoptif, et que celui-ci été gâté par le chapelain de Saint-Benoît-le-Bétourné qui l'a trop aimé, qui d'abord ne pardonnait que trop volontiers et trop facilement ses escapades, et qui, à un moment donné, s'est trouvé incapable de le détourner de ses mauvaises habitudes et de ses "copains-apaches." Oui, Maître Guillaume a certainement été trop tendre, trop indulgent pour François. Il aurait fallu à ce garçon un père rigoureux qui l'aurait puni au besoin, qui l'aurait fessé peut-être de temps en temps. Evidemment rien de cela n'est arrivé à François, qui ne garde de son "plus que père" que des souvenirs des plus heureux. Cependant, nous ne devrions pas blâmer Maître Guillaume, nous autres qui goûtons les vers de cet enfant gâté, car si les choses s'étaient passées autrement, nous n'aurions peut-être jamais entendu parler de François Villon, et celui-ci serait sans doute devenu un simple clerc bien sérieux, sinon (car il était intelligent, ce gamin parisien) évêque de Paris! C'est heureux, alors, que le chapelain de Saint-Benoît-le-Bétourné ait été indulgent pour son fils adoptif, qu'il l'ait gâté même, car c'est en partie cette formation facile qui sert de base à une des grandes personnalités de la littérature française.

Il ne serait peut-être pas trop hors de propos de faire ici l'observa-

tion suivante: cette période tumultueuse de l'histoire de la France nous a légué deux figures qui se dressent nettement dans une foule confuse de noms: Jeanne d'Arc et François Villon. N'est-ce pas curieux que les deux premiers noms qui nous restent de ce Moyen Age appartiennent à la *jeunesse*, à une jeunesse issue de tout ce qu'il y a de plus humble? Et quel contraste de personnalité! "Jehanne la bonne Lorraine," comme l'appelle Villon lui-même (T349), possède une parfaite simplicité d'esprit; mais sa foi illimitée devait imposer à un pays divisé contre lui-même le principe et l'inspiration du patriotisme. Et l'autre, ce François Villon dont nous nous occupons en ce moment, c'est l'antithèse de cette bergère simple, pure, et d'une foi sans limites: c'est un malfaiteur, un voleur, un assassin, qui a été emprisonné plus d'une fois, qui a été condamné à la pendaison, qui a fini par être banni de ce Paris qui était sa "patrie," et, enfin, dont nous ne savons rien après sa trente-deuxième année. Mais ce même malfaiteur, ce voleur, ce débauché, cet assassin nous a laissé des vers qui restent toujours, après cinq siècles, d'une vivacité frappante et inoubliable.

Dans sa *Ballade des menus propos*, Villon se sert d'un leitmotif qui est traditionnel dans la littérature du monde:

Prince, je congnois tout en somme,

Je congnois tout, fors que moy mesmes. (25)

On ne le prend certainement pas au sérieux lorsqu'il nous fait cette confession, car nous savons qu'il se connaît, au contraire, plutôt bien, qu'il sait ce qu'il veut, ce qui lui plaît et ce qui ne lui plaît pas, et qu'il a une assez bonne idée de ce qui est considéré comme *bon* et de ce qui est considéré comme *mauvais*, puisqu'il ne regrette que trop souvent de ne pas avoir été plus sage. Mais enfin, même s'il ne se connaissait pas, lui-même, il nous est facile, à nous autres lecteurs, d'apprécier sa personnalité, de dégager de ses écrits son caractère, et de mettre le doigt sur ses côtés faibles aussi bien que sur ses côtés forts. Car personne n'est plus sincère dans ce qu'il écrit que ce poète-vagabond, qui s'attendait, à chaque moment, à être arrêté et peut-être pendu. Et il va sans dire que cette franchise qu'il observe à l'égard de lui-même, il sait très bien s'en servir lorsqu'il s'agit d'autrui, de ses amis et surtout de ses ennemis: personne, au fond, n'est à l'abri de ses attaques.

Dans les vers 1158-1186 du *Testament* il fait une attaque mordante contre les prêtres, les moines, les religieuses, et la police; et il témoigne d'une générosité sans bornes à l'égard des gens de la justice! (T1206) Je suis sûr qu'après avoir écrit cela, il a dû s'arrêter un moment pour y ajouter un bon ha! ha! à haute voix! Même les valets, les cham-

brières (T1559) et les écoliers (T1290) n'échappent point à sa moquerie. Mais il va beaucoup plus loin, il va même jusqu'à critiquer et à reprocher au roi, Louis XI, de ne pas avoir été généreux vis-à-vis de lui, comme l'avait été Alexandre pour un "larron de mer":

Se Dieu m'eust donné rencontrer
Ung autre piteux Alixandre (T161)

Et, enfin, lui qui a toujours gardé un certain respect pour la religion, il se laisse plaisanter même là-dessus:

Mors estoient, et corps et ames,
En dampnee perdition,
Corps pourris et ames en flammes,
De quelconque condicion.
Toutefois, fais exception
Des patriarches et prophetes;
Car, selon ma conception,
Oncques n'eurent grant chault aux fesses. (T801)

Il se moque volontiers des moines et des clercs, mais dans les vers que nous venons de citer il s'approche du véritable sacrilège, ce qui n'arrive que rarement chez lui. Il parle toujours de Dieu, de la Vierge, et de Jésus d'un ton des plus respectueux. Il sait même s'élever à des inspirations sublimes. Tels, par exemple, les vers 49-55 du Testament:

Si prie au benoist fils de Dieu,
Qu'a tous mes besoins je reclame,
Que ma povre priere ait lieu
Vers luy, de qui tiens corps et ame,
Qui m'a preservé de maint blasme
Et franchy de ville puissance.
Loué soit il, et Nostre Dame

Et un peu plus tard ces deux vers qui montrent un esprit loin d'être superficiel:

Combien que le pecheur soit ville,
Riens ne hayt que perseverance. (T103)

Lorsqu'il écrit sa majestueuse *Épitaphe*, Villon se voit tout près du gibet de Montfaucon, il est obsédé par l'idée de la mort, il se voit déjà "charié" "puis ça, puis la" par le vent; et les vers qu'il écrit sortent de l'âme même du pécheur:

Freres humains qui après nous vivez
N'ayez les cuers contre nous endurcis,
Car, se pitié de nous povres avez,
Dieu en aura plus tost de vous mercis.
.
De nostre mal personne ne s'en rie;
Mais priez Dieu que tous nous vueille absouldre!

Prince Jhesus, qui sur terre a maistrie,
 Garde qu'Enfer n'ait de nous seigneurie:
 A luy n'ayons que faire ne que souldre.
 Hommes, icy n'a point de mocquerie;
 Mais priez Dieu que tous nous vueille absouldre!

Et, enfin, que pourrais-je dire de cette *Ballade pour prier Nostre Dame*, que Villon a écrite pour sa mère, "povrette et ancienne," toute près de la mort, elle aussi? Il faudrait la lire pour sentir ce que cela contient de cette simple foi du moyen âge. Je me contenterai, pourtant, de citer le début et la fin de cette ballade dont on trouverait bien difficilement l'égale:

Dame du ciel, regente terrienne,
 Emperiere des infernaux palus,
 Recevez moy, vostre humble chrestienne,
 Que comprinse soye entre vos esleus,
 Ce non obstant qu'oncques rien ne valus.

.
 Vous portastes, digne Vierge, princesse,
 Iesus regnant qui n'a ne fin ne cesse.
 Lè Tout Puissant, prenant nostre foiblesse,
 Laissa les cieulx et nous vint secourir,
 Offrit a mort sa tres chiere jeunesse;
 Nostre Seigneur tel est, tel le confesse:
 En ceste foy je vueil vivre et mourir.

Chose curieuse, c'est que l'auteur de ces vers d'une inspiration sublime presque sans pareille est aussi l'auteur de certains vers tels qu'on n'en trouve guère de plus osés dans le domaine naturaliste. Villon est l'auteur des vers qui sentent pour ainsi dire la boue des lieux les plus repoussants, les plus nauséabonds. Quel poète de la période décadente du romantisme aurait pu mieux faire le mélange du sublime et du grotesque? Vous n'avez qu'à lire, entre autres, la *Ballade de la Grosse Margot*, pour vous persuader qu'il a bien éprouvé "la nostalgie de la boue." Oui, ce contraste d'inspiration est un des traits les plus frappants chez Villon. Et, exception faite à la nature, dont il ne parle presque pas, il est sensible à tout ce qui se passe dans sa "patrie," qui n'est autre que la ville de Paris. Les cinq sens, l'odorat, le goût, le toucher, l'ouïe, et surtout la vue, ou, comme il le dit lui-même dans la *Requête à la cour de Parlement*:

Tous mes cinc sens: yeulx, oreilles et bouche,
 Le nez, et vous, le sensitif aussi

se sont développés chez lui à un très haut degré. Et, ce qui est heureux pour nous, c'est qu'il ne cache pas ce qu'il sent et ce qu'il voit, mais

nous le communique par des images si nettes que celles-ci s'imposent tout de suite à la mémoire. Pourrait-on oublier, par exemple, l'image qu'il nous présente dans son *Épitaphe* des malheureux au gibet de Monfaucon?

La pluy nous a debuez et lavez,
Et le soleil dessechiez et noircis;
Pies, corbeaulx, nous ont les yeux cavez,
Et arrachié la barbe et les sourcis.
Jamais nul temps nous ne sommes assis;
Puis ça, puis la, comme le vent varie,
A son plaisir sans cesser nous charie;

A-t-on jamais frappé un médaillon aux traits plus saillants?

Mais il n'a peut-être jamais mieux atteint à cette netteté de relief que dans les vers où il est obsédé par l'idée de la mort. Lui qui avait les sens bien développés et qui en jouissait au plus haut degré, il recule d'un pas instinctif devant l'image de la mort. Il y voit surtout la décomposition de la chair, et rien qu'à y penser, cela le fait frémir. Ces femmes qu'il a aimées, ces femmes aux

. . . . doux regars et beaux semblans
De tres decevante saveur
Me trespersans jusques aux flans, (L26)

qu'est-ce qu'elles deviendront? Ma foi, vous n'avez qu'à regarder la Belle Heaulmière, "vielle, flestrie,"

Les bras cours et les mains contraites,
Les espaulles toutes bossues;
Mamelles, quoi? toutes retraites;
Telles les hanches que les tetes;
Du sadinet, fy! Quant des cuisses,
Cuisses ne sont plus, mais cuissetes
Grivelees comme saulcisses. (T518)

Mais tout cela n'est que la *première* étape. Et après? Villon frémit de nouveau: il ne voit que trop bien où cela aboutira, et il nous en fait une image des plus horribles:

La mort le fait fremir, pallir,
Le nez courber, les veines tendre,
Le col enfler, la chair mollir,
Jointes et nerfs croistre et estendre.
Corps féminin, qui tant es tendre,
Poly, souef, si precieux,
Te fauldra il ces maux attendre?
Oy, ou tout vif aller es cieulx. (T321)

L'homme n'y peut rien faire, personne ne peut échapper à ce chef des moissonneurs, qu'il soit riche ou pauvre, beau ou laid, serf ou roi, car la

Mort saisit sans excepcion. (T312)

Mais la mort n'est pas sa seule préoccupation, comme nous l'avons vu. Il en est même loin de cela. Villon est un vrai philosophe, et lorsqu'il se rend compte qu'il a trop longuement parlé de choses sinistres, il se dit tout simplement, "Parlons de chose plus plaisante" (T266), et se met à composer des vers d'un ton plus gai, en se moquant généralement de quelqu'un. Voilà, par exemple, les vers qui suivent immédiatement cette majestueuse et sublime *Ballade pour prier Notre Dame*:

Item, m'amour, ma chiere Rose,
Ne luy laisse ne cuer ne foy;
Elle aimeroit mieulx autre chose,
Combien qu'elle ait assez monnoye.
Quoy? une grant bource de soye,
Pleine d'escuz, parfonde et large;
Mais pendu soit il, que je soye,
Qui luy laira escu ni targe. (T910)

N'est-ce pas qu'il sait donc changer de ton? De même, un peu plus loin, il se moque de moines et de religieuses en des termes qui laissent peu à l'imagination.

Nous avons dit au début de cette étude qu'il n'y a pas d'écrivain qui soit plus sincère, plus franc à l'égard de lui-même. Et voilà justement ce qui nous le rend si sympathique malgré tous ses défauts. Ce ne sont pas des "confessions" qui doivent servir d'apologie pour les actions de l'auteur; ce sont là plutôt de petites observations sur les actions et les réactions du poète, qui ne cache rien, quelque bas et quelque honteux que ce soit. Il avoue, par exemple, d'un ton simple et naturel, qu'il s'est adonné sans frein aux délices de la jeunesse:

Le dit du Saige trop luy feiz
Favorable (bien en puis mais!)
Qui dit: "Esjoys toy, mon filz,
En ton adolescence"; (T209)

Et il avoue encore, toujours avec cette franchise charmante, qu'il n'en fera pas autrement demain:

Bien est verté que j'ay amé
Et ameroie volentiers; (T193)

En effet, il a bien "amé," ce qui veut dire qu'il a participé à maints actes de débauches, qu'il a fréquenté assez assidûment les tavernes et les

autres "maisons de joie." A ce propos, il nous dit ceci: "Je fuyoie l'escolle" (T205), et regrette "le temps de ma jeunesse, Ouquel j'ay plus qu'autre gallé" (T169). Et, ma foi, il en a eu des remords bien vifs, s'il faut en croire les vers qu'il insère par-ci par-là:

Hé! Dieu, se j'eusse estudié
Ou temps de ma jeunesse folle
Et à bonnes meurs dedié,
J'eusse maison et couche molle. (T201)

Ce sont, d'ailleurs, des remords bien matérialistes, car il regrette la "maison et couche molle" dont jouissent ses amis d'autrefois, ses camarades universitaires qui s'y sont bien appliqués et qui se sont dédiés "à bonnes meurs." Mais il ne se fait pas d'illusions là-dessus; il sait qu'il est coupable, et qu'il n'a que ce qu'il a mérité: "Je suis pecheur, je le sais bien," nous avoue-t-il (T105), et se dit, sans doute, que s'il n'avait pas "gallé" sa jeunesse, il aurait, lui aussi, "maison et couche molle."

C'est, également à cause de cette franchise complète que nous ne pouvons pas nous empêcher de ressentir avec lui ses souffrances. Et de toutes ses souffrances, il n'y en a pas qui soient plus intenses que celles que lui ont procurées ses amours. "Je suis amant martir," nous avoue-t-il (L45), et nous le croyons bien, à en juger ses plaintes déchirantes. Il accuse une femme d'avoir "esté felonne et dure" pour lui (L34), il en accuse une autre de lui avoir occasionné "tant de maulx et griefz" (T675), et en veut particulièrement à Katherine de Vauselles, dont il a été "L'amant remys et regnyé" (T712):

J'en fus batu comme a ru telles,
Tout nu, ja ne le quier celer. (T657)

Cela, par exemple, ce n'est pas un souvenir à faire plaisir à un amant, quand même serait-il habitué à jouer le rôle de l'amant malheureux! Dans la Double Ballade, *Pour ce, amez tant que voudrez*, il nous fait voir que "Folles amours font le gens bestes" (T629) et nous fait part d'une conclusion qui est le résultat de nombreuses expériences: "Bien est heureux qui riens n'y a!" (T656). Il nous dit, enfin, que s'il a autrefois fait partie du nombre des "gens bestes," "Je desclare que n'en suis mais" (T720). Pour un homme qui

. . . . chassié fut comme ung souillon
De ses amours hayneusement, (T2005)

nous en convenons que c'est une décision des plus sages!

Si cette note de souffrance est la plus intense lorsque Villon parle de ses amours de jeunesse, il n'en est pas loin de cela plus tard, lorsqu'il se

souvient des mois qu'il a passés à Meung-sur-Loire, comme "l'invité" de l'évêque d'Orléans, Thibault d'Aussigny, qui

Peu m'a d'une petite miche
Et de froide eaue tout nug esté; (T13)

Oui, il ne se rappelle que trop bien ces jours passés dans un cachot, ces jours *d'esté*, s'il vous plaît. Il s'y trouve si mal, il y souffre à un tel point, en effet, que dans la lettre qu'il a écrite à ses amis, il pousse un cri on ne peut plus déchirant avec son "Aiez pitié, aiez pitié de moy!", et il les engage à venir à son secours, car là où on l'a mis "n'entre escler ne tourbillon." Décidément, ce n'est pas l'endroit à faire plaisir à un jeune homme, surtout à ce poète-vagabond.

Oui, il a beaucoup souffert, et il s'en plaint, du reste, pas mal; ses reproches, aussi, contre ceux qui lui avaient procuré ces maux, sont assez forts. Par contre, Villon témoigne d'une reconnaissance très vive envers tous ceux qui lui ont fait du bien. "Loys, le bon roy de France" (T56) est l'un de ceux qui ont reçu les prières sincères du poète. Car c'était Louis qui a délivré Villon de son malheureux état dans la prison de Meung-sur-Loire. Le poète reconnaissant lui souhaite une longue vie, qu'il vive "autant que Mathusalé!", dit-il (T64); il lui souhaite, en somme, tous les bonheurs de la vie terrestre, y compris "douze beaux enfans, tous masles" (T65), et "Paradis en la fin" (T72). Puis il y a l'*Epistre* qu'il adresse à Marie d'Orléans, la petite princesse qu'il appelle "La joye, confort de mes yeulx" (8).

En ce qui concerne sa mère, et son "plus que pere," Guillaume Villon, je ne saurais dire avec certitude jusqu'à quel point s'étend sa reconnaissance. Evidemment, il a écrit pour sa mère cette ballade sublime *Pour prier Nostre Dame*, qui est sans doute le meilleur don qu'il ait fait. Voici son introduction à cette ballade:

Item, donne à ma povre mere
Pour saluer nostre Maistresse,
(Qui pour moy ot douleur amere,
Dieu le scet, et mainte tristesse),
Autre chastel n'ay, ne fortesse,
On me retraye corps et ame,
Quant sur moy court malle destresse,
Ne ma mere, la povre femme! (T865)

Le voilà, alors, qui parle de "ma povre mere" et de "la povre femme," et cette ballade qui suit nous donne certainement l'impression que Villon aimait tendrement sa mère. A vrai dire, je n'en suis pas certain, moi. Faire l'éloge de sa mère, c'est un lieu commun de toute littérature. On pourrait faire, je le sais, l'objection suivante: comment Villon aurait-il écrit ce que bien des gens considèrent être ses meilleurs oeuvres

s'il n'avait pas véritablement senti cet amour tendre pour sa mère? Et bien, Villon est poète, il est doué d'une sensibilité sans égale, surtout en ce qui concerne ces sentiments ineffables de la foi et de la religion. Alors je peux très bien m'imaginer que c'était peut-être l'inspiration de la Vierge elle-même plutôt que celle de sa mère qui a donné naissance à ce chef-d'oeuvre. Puis, il y a ces vers où il fait l'éloge de son "plus que pere" et où il dit même de lui

Qui esté m'a plus doulx que mere
A enfant levé de maillon. (T851)

Eh bien, je ne peux pas m'empêcher de penser qu'il y a là une sorte de reproche contre sa mère: dire qu'une autre personne lui a été "plus doulx que mere."

Quant à Guillaume Villon, là aussi il y a quelque doute en ce qui concerne l'amour de François pour celui qui l'a élevé si tendrement. Comme nous l'avons dit, le chapelain a été immortalisé par cet enfant qu'il a recueilli, par ces mots célèbres, "mon plus que pere," justement comme Montaigne a immortalisé son ami Etienne avec son "parce que c'était lui, parce que c'était moi." Alors, d'après ces louanges, "mon plus que pere" et "plus doulx que mere," nous pouvons évidemment conclure que François aimait bien Maître Guillaume. Mais là aussi, quelques vers me troublent un peu. Immédiatement après ces phrases de louanges extrêmes, il lui fait son don:

Je luy donne ma librairie,
Et le Rommant du Pet au Deable,
Lequel maistre Guy Tabarie,
Grossa, qui est homs veritable.
Par cayers est soubz une table;
Combien qu'il soit rudement fait,
La matiere est si tres notable
Qu'elle amende tout le mesfait. (T857)

C'est peut-être à tort, mais j'ai le sentiment que François se moque de ce bonhomme qui lui a été "plus que pere"! Et puis il me vient à l'esprit deux autres vers qu'il a écrits cinq ans auparavant:

Je laisse, de par Dieu, mon bruit
A maistre Guillaume Villon. (L69)

Oui, il lui laisse son bruit, sa réputation! Et quelle était sa réputation au moment où il écrivait ces vers? Réputation de vaurien, de débauché, de voleur. Ne se moque-t-il pas ainsi de ce vieux bonhomme? Ne se moque-t-il pas de ce chapelain sérieux et respecté qui a pour fils un jeune homme à la réputation de François?

Il y a, pourtant, un autre homme dont Villon a gardé des souvenirs très chers, et dont il parle d'une façon affectueuse sans réserve. C'est le "bon feu maistre Jehan Cotart" (T1245). Il nous laisse de lui un portrait des plus sympathiques (T1237), où il semble nous dire, Voilà enfin *a man after my own heart!* C'est un portrait aux lignes si nettes que cet homme nous paraît tout aussi vivant après cinq siècles qu'il ne le fut lorsqu'il quitta enfin la taverne pour aller chez lui, "Comme homme beu qui chancelle et trepigne" (T1254). Il a été

Mon procureur en court d'Eglise,

Quant chicaner me feist Denise,

Disant que l'avoye mauldite; (T1231)

Oui, c'est un procureur, mais bon garçon et bon vivant, et il aurait fallu aller bien loin pour trouver "Meilleur pyon, pour boire tost et tart" (T1259), et qui criait toujours quand même "Harol la gorge m'art" (T1263). Ce portrait de Jehan Cotart est sans doute le plus sympathique que Villon nous ait laissé.

Il y a, enfin, la *Ballade contre les ennemis de la France*, où Villon témoigne d'un patriotisme ardent, où il se sert de termes bien vigoureux contre toute personne "Qui mal voudroit au royaulme de France!" Je ne saurais dire avec certitude s'il s'agit là d'un lieu commun dont se sert notre poète, ou bien si, en effet, il possédait à un tel point le sentiment du patriotisme. Il me semble que l'un ou l'autre pourrait tout aussi bien être le cas.

Voilà l'image que nous faisons de François Villon d'après la lecture de son oeuvre. Ce n'est certainement pas un jeune homme exemplaire; il en est même bien loin de cela, car s'il fallait mettre dans la balance ses qualités et ses défauts, ceux-ci l'emporteraient facilement. Mais c'est quand même une personnalité *sympathique*. Sa franchise complète nous le révèle comme un être tout à fait humain. C'est un voleur, c'est un brigand, dites-vous. Soit. Mais comme il nous le dit lui-même dans l'anecdote du pirate et Alexandre, c'est *le sort* qui a fait de lui un brigand: il aurait pu tout aussi facilement faire de lui un roi. Ce que nous pouvons dire de Villon avec certitude, c'est qu'il est tout à fait de son temps. Si, par exemple, la pitié lui manque, c'est qu'il y avait peu de pitié au moyen âge; et si, malgré son extrême réalisme, il témoigne d'une croyance des plus simples, c'est que le moyen âge est l'époque de la foi absolue. C'est, enén, un homme extrêmement sensible, et qui a le génie de communiquer ce qu'il sent par des images inoubliables, des images qui se fixent à jamais dans la mémoire.

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ARTINE ARTINIAN

INTERPRETATION OF FOREIGN NEWS

IN reply to several questions asked at the last meeting of the Modern Language Association, regarding World Problems, we beg to offer a few suggestions which may prove helpful in the interpretation of world news, and especially of European news.

It is wise not to believe implicitly the first newspaper accounts of important foreign events. Sometimes they must be heavily discounted. It is well to wait two or three days and watch for the qualifications and corrections which frequently appear in later dispatches. Avoid especially being misled by the headlines. They are mostly bait for the credulous and are often disproved in the article itself. The reporter is not responsible for the headlines. They come from the news editor who is often woefully ignorant of the subject under discussion.

When reading news always ascertain the source, i.e., the Press agency, the country of origin; keep in mind the nature and extent of various national censorships. Learn to distinguish between a fairly objective statement and political declarations intended primarily for domestic consumption and meant to arouse the enthusiasm of a political party, stimulate the loyalty of citizens towards their leader or strengthen their faith in a political doctrine.

Remember likewise that speeches made in Parliaments do not always represent the dominant national sentiment. They are often inspired by personal vanity and resentment, or intended as a smoke screen to cover up purposes which are not strictly avowable.

Political controversies, conducted by self-appointed or authorized representatives of nations with conflicting ideologies, are likely to be dramatic, oratorical, and grossly overstated.

Political refugees of all schools, even eminent ones, Russian, Spanish, Italian, or German, must not be too readily believed. They are often intensely partisan and are likely to voice personal resentment and disillusion.

Do not be cynical or pessimistic concerning human progress, but avoid blind optimism. We are probably on the threshold of a great civilization; courage and faith, however, are needed to usher in that new Renaissance. Do not expect perfection or anything near perfection in international relations. There will always be conflicts of ideas and conflicts of interests. The most we can hope for is that international rivalry will assume forms of an increasingly more civilized character.

Europe is not decadent, doomed to misery, social chaos and early destruction. Even another world war would not permanently cripple

Europe. Europe still remains the most highly organized section of mankind. She contains the bulk of the white race. Her population is increasing. She has to her credit an amazing record of achievement in every line of endeavor. She has evolved a remarkably efficient industrial technique. She has control of an almost inexhaustible supply of raw materials and, if these were to fail, she has the scientific resourcefulness necessary to develop substitutes.

Her new generations are animated with courage, ambition, and enthusiasm. Her people have a capacity for work and self-sacrifice which is bound to bring forth fruit.

If, at last, the intellectual and economic forces of Europe could be marshalled and coordinated, a great advance would be made along the whole front of human progress.

Europe has a most difficult problem to solve and she deserves our sympathy more than our sneers. Her great task is the reconciliation of diversity and unity. Each nation rightfully wishes to preserve her personality, her literature and her traditions. Moreover, we ourselves wish them to do so as, thereby, our common civilization is enriched, but they must not carry their nationalism so far that they became incapable of international cooperation. Their leaders must strive for the maximum of unity possible under present conditions. Some day, no doubt, the hoped for reconciliation will take place. The United State of Europe is in the making, appearances to the contrary notwithstanding.

Europe must cease to think in terms of geographical frontiers. No frontier can ever be drawn in Europe which is satisfactory to all, especially to the intensely nationalistic or patriotic groups.

It is well to assume that every government is honestly endeavoring to promote the happiness and wellbeing of its citizens, in harmony with its racial, political, economic and religious background. There are various levels of social evolution and also different patterns of social progress.

The poverty, the distress, the confusion, the failures of any national or racial group should never be an occasion for rejoicing to the rest of the world. In the long run, we are all interdependent and we are all impoverished by the bankruptcy of any member of the human family.

This is only a sketchy and incomplete list of suggestions, which may be of some assistance in formulating one's own philosophy of international relations. It is modestly submitted and intended primarily as a stimulus and an encouragement to our readers in the present state of confusion and bewilderment.

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REVIEWS

The Syntax of Castilian Prose: The Sixteenth Century. By Hayward Keniston.
(Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1937. xxix + 750 pp. \$5.00)

Professor Keniston's volume *The Syntax of Castilian Prose: The Sixteenth Century*, inaugurating a series of studies "which, when completed, will present a chronological survey of the syntax of Castilian prose from the earliest documents in the vernacular tongue to the present day," is undoubtedly the most significant publication to appear in the field of Spanish linguistics in the last twenty-five years. Its importance to the investigator in this field is obvious, since for the period treated it offers data on the "relative frequencies of the different constructions used to express a given notion," records the "disappearance of old usages and the appearance of new devices," affords generous illustrative examples of uncommon constructions, provides "materials which cast specific light on linguistic differences due to regional or social influences," facilitates comparison of Castilian usage with that of other dialects, and of traits characteristic of prose with those found only in verse. To the teacher of contemporary Spanish it will likewise be valuable, for the material presented on such subjects as the use of *a* as a sign for the accusative object, position of pronoun objects, use of the definite and indefinite articles, reflexive verbs, use of *ser* and *estar*, etc., should prove very helpful in interpreting present usage.

However, this study's importance transcends the Spanish field in that it presents the first "statistical analysis of grammatical usage" in any language, together with a technique for making such surveys in any given language. The author discusses in his Introduction the difficulties in developing a technique for such investigation, particularly those encountered in compiling a satisfactory check-list to be used. Some idea of the magnitude of the task and the number of problems that arose may be gained from a comparison of the first tentative check-list of 1927, which covered 47 mimeographed pages, with the fourth version of 1933, covering 294 pages. Feeling that his technique in its present stage may yet be improved, Professor Keniston invites suggestions and corrections which may be used in the preparation of the volumes yet to appear in the series.

The author chose to begin his series with the sixteenth century "because, as a period of transition between Old Spanish and Modern Spanish, it offered the widest body of material for the development of a technique which would be applicable to the whole history of the language." This, in the reviewer's opinion, is a satisfactory choice. However, the periods proposed for the remaining studies, when compared with this one, arouse, at first glance, a certain question as to the chronological divisions adopted. For instance, one volume is to present the material of the period 1200-1500, and another, that from 1600 to 1900. It is hard to believe that, allowing for the differences in the character of the works themselves, Alfonso el Sabio and the author of the *Celestina*, or Quevedo and Galdós, are no farther apart syntactically than any two authors of the sixteenth century. If they are, the material that will have to be included in these two volumes will far exceed the limits of the present rather sizable tome. The fourth volume, on the other hand, is to cover the period from 1900

on, a period which, one would think, would hardly offer in its few decades material comparable to that of any of the other periods.

The present study is based on the count of thirty units of ten thousand running words of text each, to which must be added additional pages and texts bringing the total amount of material covered up to approximately ten thousand pages. This certainly should be sufficient to insure the inclusion of all except the very rarest of constructions. The texts chosen for study are well selected chronologically (the greatest lapse of time between texts is six years), regionally (writers from Andalusia, Aragon, Valencia, Extremadura, and even one from Portugal, are included, although the majority are, of course, Castilians), socially, etc. A question might be raised as to the inclusion of two works each of Antonio de Guevara and Lorenzo Galíndez Carvajal, while a number of other writers, as Professor Keniston himself notes, are omitted.

As to the question of texts used, the danger which lies in the unavoidable use of a number of faulty and uncritical editions is recognized by the author, but is dismissed with the argument that they cannot vitiate the main lines of the work established on a much larger number of sound texts. The choice of at least three of the editions, however, may be questioned on other grounds. From the viewpoint of one wishing to locate references, the NBAE edition of Montemayor's *Diana* would have been preferable to that of 1586, since the latter is not generally available. References to Hurtado de Mendoza's *Guerra de Granada* are based on the Valencia edition of 1776, the BAE edition being avoided. In the case of the *Diálogo de la Lengua*, the Montesinos edition in *Clásicos Castellanos* would seem to deserve preference over that of Boehmer for a like reason. In each of these cases, the more available text might have been collated with the rarer one, and significant variants noted.

Before proceeding to a consideration of some of the details of the work, it should be noted that the reader feels at many points the lack of bibliographical indications. The author judged, however, that it would be better not to increase further the size of the present volume with this additional material, which he plans to print later in separate form. A final point is that many of the classifications had to be made arbitrarily, as the author frequently states. However, in practically all such cases, other possibilities were foreseen and indicated with cross references.

In the following we are taking the liberty of making a few suggestions as to details. Unless otherwise indicated, the references are to paragraphs of the work.

- 2.113 *entre nosotros tres aberiguemos esto*. The statement is made that "it is possible that *entre* should be considered an adverb in this construction, since the form of a personal pronoun when used after it is the subject form." This does not agree with 6.91 ("Even when the two personal forms after *entre* are the logical subject of the verb, the prepositional forms appear in the only example noted...*mejor daramos entre él y mi orden en la manera que...él había de tener*").
- 2.51 *en ocho días maldito el bocado que comio; a lo memos en casa bien los estuvimos sin comer*. The use of *los* here is explained as the "result of a feeling that *ocho días* in the sentence *estuvimos ocho días sin comer* is an object instead of an adverbial expression." Is this not rather simply the Spanish development of the accusative of time

in both cases? Note the following case, not listed here, from *Lazarillo* (Bonilla ed., 111): *Los domingos y fiestas, casi todas las comiamos en su casa.*

- 5.9 The second *tú* in the expression *ponerse a tú por tú* is hardly comparable to the cases cited of *tú* after a preposition, since *tú* here is not used in its pronominal function, but rather stands for "the pronoun of address *tú*."
- 7.33 *veays si...hay alguna que le haga* (the force of *le* is "for it," that is, 'for the purpose of opening it'). It is more likely that *le* is not an example of a neuter indirect object, but of a masculine standing for *el arcaz*. Cf. Lope de Vega, *El Acero de Madrid*, III, xi (BAE 24, 384a): *Aquí una llave he traido/ Que hace a aquel aposento*; also the example given by Cejador in his edition of *Lazarillo* (*Clás. cast.*, 25, 140, n. 17).
- 8.411 *el quitar a los animos de la gente la maravilla que la ignorancia de la causa de estas obras mecanicas les traxo*. This is not a sure example of a plural pronoun referring to a collective antecedent since *les* may very well refer to *animos*.
- p. 131 *traspasó también este tesoro a las gentes*. The word *gentes* seems to be used here by Fray Luis de León in the sense of "gentiles" rather than the indefinite "people."
- 14.382 *¿sabe vuesa merced qué querría yo? — No, si no lo dices. — Saber a lo que vo o a qué* (the parallel use of relative and interrogative seems to be playful, unless there is an attempt to distinguish between a certain and an uncertain future). This interpretation is doubtful. Doesn't the phrase in question mean "to know for what I am going or why?"
- 18.372 *el Capiscol*. This is not an example of a proper name modified by an article.
- 18.373 *la Magdalena*. *Magdalena* was, no doubt, felt to be an adjective, rather than a proper name, and took the article accordingly.
- 24.233 *al cual dicho Rey D. Juan hizo degollar por justicia*. This example does not belong with those of the attributive adjective + *el cual* + limiting adjective + noun, *al cual* being the relative pronoun object of *degollar*, and *dicho Rey D. Juan*, the subject of *hizo*.
- 25.372 *De vencida va Finoya*. In this example, *vencida* is not a case of an adjective introduced by a preposition, since it is a noun and does not vary with the subject in this construction.
- 25.449 *a la iguala*. In this expression, *iguala* is more probably a noun than a feminine adjective used with indefinite force.
- 26.863 *tan poco fundamento y ofensa hecha a vosotros*. Here we do not have a case of complex agreement, since *hecha* does not modify *fundamento* and *ofensa*, but rather *compusición*, as a fuller form of the passage shows: *no tan falto de entendimiento ni esfuerzo ni fuerza, que se pudiese contar por gran milagro resistir esta compusición con tan poco fundamento y ofensa hecha a vosotros y a mí*. It might be noted also that in the other two examples cited of singular adjective with two nouns, the nouns in question are synonyms: *hora y tiempo*, and *esfuerzo y valentía*.
- 27.33 In the list of transitive verbs used with a reflexive pronoun with affective force, *nacerse* belongs under Indefinite or passive reflexes (*A la naturaleza pertenecen los bienes con que se nasce*—'with which one is born'). This might be the proper classification of *solerse* also (*fizo la vuelta que se suele por todos los segos*). Actually, however, there is an ellipsis after *suele* of *fazer*, so that the *se* is to be constructed with *fazer* rather than with *suele*. *Allegarse* and *pararse* would be better classified under Transitive verbs with a direct reflexive object, and the same is probably true of *bajarse*, *escaparse*, *llegarse*, *subirse*, *tornarse*, *volverse*, and perhaps one or two others.

- 27.42 *los hombres . . . no se pueden así . . . domeñar a lo que la razón quiere.* It is doubtful that *domeñarse* is here used as an indefinite or passive reflexive, since the thought is that an effort must be made by *los hombres*, acting upon themselves. The same may be true for the example *Si os quereis gobernar por mí.*
- 27.432 *en esto se avezina a Dios.* This example is incorrectly classified under indefinite or passive reflexives without grammatical subject, as an examination of the context reveals *cada una dellas* (i.e., *cada cosa*) to be the subject of *se avezina*. Classify under Transitive verbs with a direct reflexive object.
- 28.25 *procuravamos como podíamos azer ermitas.* Rather than an example of the indicative after verbs of wish, command, etc., we have here an indicative in an indirect question.
- 28.265 It is questionable if *confiar*, *esperar* and *sospechar* are correctly classified as verbs of emotion.
- 28.421 It is perhaps worth mentioning in regard to *ca* that Menéndez Pidal (*Cantar de Mio Cid*, I, 396, 15) says that at the end of the XVIth century, i.e., several decades after the last example here noted, "algunos autores, como Mariana, continuaban usando *ca* a título de arcaísmo." Curiously enough, there is an example in *Fray Gerundio* (BAE 15, 114b): *Habla de los obispos en cuanto son predicadores; ca sabida cosa es que el oficio de predicar es propio y privativo del obispo*, etc. An even earlier lament than that of Juan de Valdés over the disuse of *ca* is to be found in D. Pedro Fernández de Villegas' translation and commentary on Dante (Burgos, 1515), cited by Floranes (*Docs. inédts.*, 19, 425).
- 28.44 The example of *aun* used as a conjunction is doubtful, since the passage makes much better sense if punctuated with a period after *mucho*: *Los moriscos aca en España, que vienen de los Avencerrajes . . . se estiman en mucho. En un lugar todo de labradores, aun no quieren ser todos yguales, sino que vnos se tienen por mas honrados que otros por rason de los linajes.* (Hermosilla, *Diálogo de la vida de los pajes de palacio*, ed. Mackenzie, p. 41). Of *maguer*, Fernández de Villegas (*loc. cit.*) says: "Queda solamente en labradores y en las montañas."
- 29.342 (*contrastar*). *sin dejar en ella cosa que la contrastase que todo no lo pasasen a cuchillo.* The second *que*-clause here is not the object of *contrastar*, but either an adjective clause modifying *cosa que la contrastase* (cf. 8.643 and 29.67) or a clause of negated result or attendant circumstance (cf. 29.791).
- 29.353 *miremos . . . por dónde entraremos más seguros que no nos sientan los vecinos.* This example is classified under the Subjunctive of Desire after expressions of emotion, while the following one is recorded under the Subjunctive of Uncertainty (29.56): *Muy gran consuelo sera . . . estar seguro de que nadie con palabras ni con obras pretendiese darmele.*
- 29.711 *sufria con menos pesadumbre el daño propio, porque cambiase en el ajeno.* Rather than an example of the subjunctive of negated or rejected cause, we have here a case of a clause of purpose.
- 32.61 & 32.66 Is it necessary to assume that the idea of conjecture or inference in the present and the past, expressed respectively by the future and the conditional, grows out of the future and the past-of-a-future tenses? It would seem more probable that both the idea of future and past of a future, on the one hand, and that of inference in present and past, on the other, grew out of an original idea of necessity.
- 32.69 *¿Así . . . meter habias en casa . . . el paje del Conde?* Rather than a case of "split conditional," this seems to be an example of *haber*+infinitive expressing necessity or commitment (cf. 34.39, 34-41).

- 32.87 There are at least two more XVIth century examples of the subjunctive in *-ra* with the value of past inference in Villalón's *Viaje de Turquía* (Solalinde ed., I): *No faltara allí confusión* (p. 176), *Razonablemente de contento quedara vuestro amo* (p. 177).
- 33.88 The following case of illogical agreement of the past participle, which is found in 42.12 (under *sobre que*), might have been mentioned here: *no tienes entendida cuán honda va la conseja*.
- 35.253 *los servidores destos y personas de quien se acompañaban*. The preposition *de* was doubtless not considered the sign of the agent. Cf. *muy gran parte es para ser uno bueno, acompañarse con hombres buenos* (37.941).
- 35.255 *supo como el día antes le avian quemado por el Santo Oficio*. It is not certain that *por* indicates the agent here.
- 35.29 Under Agreement of the participle, the following cases require comment: *bien assi como por ello les es otorgado honra, no menos a vosotros merecimiento de gloria* (28.49, under *bien asi como*); *si mala os la diere...mi vida y honra os es obligado* (31.23, under *ser obligado*).
- 35.51 Under the use of *ser* expressing occurrence, note should be made of the following two cases from the *Lazarillo* (Bonilla ed.), where it seems to be used in story-telling style to introduce without conjunction the narrating verb: *de manera que fue, frecuentando las caballerizas, ella y un hombre moreno...vinieron en conocimiento* (p. 8); *Y fue como el año en esta tierra fuese esteril de pan, acordaron el ayuntamiento que todos los pobres extranjeros se fuesen de la ciudad* (p. 76).
- 36.833 *en todas partes sienpre le e tenido; y todo se lo servia como la que soy*. This example should not be included under the discussion of the agreement of the verb introduced by a substantive relative, since the relative pronoun is not the subject of *soy*.
- 36.92 The examples *la mañana haze fuerte, hacia la noche obscura*, etc., do not necessarily indicate that *hacer* is used with an expressed subject, since *la mañana, la noche*, etc., may just as well be direct objects with adjective complements.
- 37.541 (*salirse a*). *al camino se salieron a recibir quantos habia en Nápoles*. This is a doubtful example of *salirse a* + infinitive, a correction of *se to le* having already been suggested by the author in 15.811.
- 37.758 It is to be noted that the phrases *de comer*, etc., take on purely substantival value. This is illustrated in *ve por de comer* (*Lazarillo*, Bonilla ed., 81).
- 39.6 Since *por ventura* and *por caso* are included in the list of adverbs and adverbial phrases to afford an opportunity of comparison with *acaso* and *quizá*, it would have been well to include also *a suerte*, *por suerte*, *a dicha*, *por dicha*, etc.
- 39.6 (*ante*). *In colete de ante*, *ante* is not the adverb, but the noun.
- 40.31 *es un monte...de todo lo bueno...que en el desseo y en el seno de las criaturas cabe, y de mucho más que no cabe*. It would seem preferable to consider *que* as a relative pronoun rather than as a connective, in which case the *no* would not be pleonastic.
- 40.323 (*contrastar*). This example should be deleted, as the *no* is not pleonastic if the interpretation given above under 29.342 is correct.
- 40.85 It should be noted that *no sólo (solamente)* may have negative force without a second *no*, as indicated for the XVIIth century by Professor Northup (*Three Plays by Calderón*, p. 47, ll. 1287-8, and note). Examples from the texts here studied are: *Elias...no solo buscó otra capa de la que tenía, antes leemos que dexó a su discípulo Eliseo una sola que lleuava* (Hermosilla, p. 124); *Contemplaba...mi desastre, que...viniese a topar con quien, no sólo me mantuviese, mas a quien*

yo habia de mantener (Lazarillo, Bonilla ed., p. 75.—Only the Alcalá edition has *no sólo no*).

- 41.32 *a canto de órgano cantó* Te Deum Laudamus. *A canto de* is not a compound preposition, *de órgano* being an adjectival phrase modifying *canto*. In other words, the relationship indicated is not between the verb *cantó* and *órgano*, but between *cantó* and *canto de órgano*. If this criterion is accepted (as it seems to be in 41.), a number of the expressions listed as compound prepositions would have to be omitted; for example, picking only a few of the more obvious ones: *a humo de* (*no lo hizo a humo de pajas*), *a pedir de* (*vienen a pedir de boca*), *a tiro de* (*a tiro de escopeta descubren el engaño*), *en tela de* (*en tela de justicia se muestran*), *en tierra de* (*en tierra de Campos*), etc.
- 41.32 (*después que*). *después que ayer mataron tres o quatro hombres*. It is doubtful if this is a valid example of *después que* used as a preposition. The text would be better punctuated: *hartarme ha los puños, que después que ayer mataron tres o quatro hombres, estan encarnizados y raiosos, que no puedo amansarlos* (Hernán Pérez de Oliva, *RHi*, 69, 536).
- 41.521 *andando por una ribera de un rio arriba*. This example of *arriba* used as a postpositive preposition following a phrase introduced by a preposition belongs under 41.523, since the introducing preposition is *por*, not *de*.
- 43.2 (*ole*). (*¡Como!*) *¿y olistes la longaniza, y no el poste? Ole, ole*. It is not certain that *ole* is an interjection, and not a verb form, here.
- 43.34 *que me ahogo, Sancta María, confesion*. *Sancta María* here, rather than an oath, seems to be a solemn invocation.
- 44.8 *el amigo a quien [en] todo tiempo soy obligado a ser leal*. The absence of *en* is not necessarily to be explained as a case of haplogy, since *todo tiempo* was an expression synonymous with *siempre*.

In addition to the foregoing, there are a number of other classifications, interpretations and assertions that are open to question, but which will require more texts and more time than are available to the reviewer at the moment. Not the least of the merits of this work is to be found in this opening up of numerous possibilities of further investigation.

The physical set-up of the book is very good. One suggestion occurs that might be adopted in the later volumes: to have paragraph numbers as well as page numbers indicated at the top of each page so as to facilitate the finding of references. The indices, one of subjects, the other of Spanish words, are good, although there are some omissions. The proofreading is very well done, considering the difficulties inherent in this type of text. The following are some of the errata noticed:

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| p. xx (under 1599) | For <i>Alfraache</i> , read <i>Alfarache</i> . |
| p. xxvii, l. 1. | <i>El Abencerraje</i> is found, not in <i>RHi</i> , XX (1918), but in <i>BHi</i> , XXI (1919). |
| 2.858, l. 10 | For <i>probre</i> , read <i>pobre</i> . |
| 5.643, l. 2 | For <i>comederia</i> , read <i>comediria</i> . |
| 7.273, l. 2 | <i>is</i> used should be in roman. |
| 7.275, next to last line | For <i>preferred</i> , read <i>preferred</i> . |
| 12., l. 2 | For <i>demonstrative</i> , read <i>possessive</i> . |
| p. 144, l. 9 | For <i>Laetamani</i> , read <i>Laetamini</i> . |
| 14.33, l. 5 | For <i>aquél</i> , read <i>aquel</i> . |
| p. 154, l. 3 | For <i>ba</i> , read <i>iba</i> . |
| 14.861, l. 6 | For <i>espantarse</i> , read <i>espantarte</i> . |

15.316, l. 8	For <i>bandorillas</i> , read <i>bandorrillas</i> .
15.423, l. 5	For <i>pronoun</i> , read <i>preposition</i> .
16.221, l. 4	For <i>se</i> , read <i>si</i> .
17.02, l. 2	For 3.7, read 3.6.
19.85, l. 2	For <i>esta</i> , read <i>esto</i> .
20.681, l. 4	For <i>pleyantes</i> , read <i>pleyteantes</i> .
23.14, l. 5	For 90,000 mil, read 90.000.
23.21, l. 6	For 138, 34, read 138, 3-4.
23.21, l. 7	For <i>modarra...catorceno</i> , read <i>modorra...catorzeno</i> .
26.56, l. 9	For <i>de</i> , read <i>en</i> .
26.767, l. 3	For <i>espactáculo</i> , read <i>expectáculo</i> .
27.53, l. 6	For <i>af</i> , read <i>of</i> .
28.49, l. 21	For <i>Cap 58b</i> , read <i>Haz 581b</i> .
p. 378, l. 19	<i>in-struto</i> should be divided <i>ins-truto</i> .
29.612, l. 16	For <i>comederia</i> , read <i>comediria</i> .
p. 399, l. 21	<i>buelto</i> should be in roman.
32.48, l. 8	For <i>niete</i> , read <i>nieto</i> .
35.391, l. 20	For <i>candante</i> , read <i>candente</i> .
36.752, l. 12	For <i>alcalde de Alora</i> , read <i>alcayde de Alora</i> .
37.238, l. 2	For <i>Alora no duerman</i> , read <i>Alora no duermen</i> .
37.485, l. 7	For <i>enterallo</i> , read <i>enterrallo</i> .
p. 519, l. 10	For <i>entenderse en</i> , read <i>entenderse de</i> .
37.777, l. 3	For <i>plugiera</i> , read <i>pluguiera</i> .
39.01, last line	For <i>conjuction</i> , read <i>conjunction</i> .
p. 575, next to last line	For <i>dizes</i> , read <i>dizes</i> .
40.25, l. 2	For <i>substantial</i> , read <i>substantial</i> .
p. 606, last line	For <i>los</i> , read <i>las</i> .
p. 610, l. 5	For <i>despediciada</i> , read <i>desperdiciada</i> .
40.572, l. 7	For <i>desesparar</i> , read <i>desesperar</i> .
p. 620, l. 23	For <i>despediciada</i> , read <i>desperdiciada</i> .
40.744, last line	For <i>cacophany</i> , read <i>cacophony</i> .
40.831, last line	For <i>repentent</i> , read <i>repentant</i> .
40.835, l. 5	Between <i>tanto</i> and <i>de</i> , a whole line has been dropped out: <i>mi juicio, ni me he aprovechado tanto</i> .
42.17, l. 15	For <i>sobre sanada</i> , read <i>sobresanada</i> .
42.773, l. 7	For <i>contrario</i> , read <i>contraria</i> .
43.31, l. 6	For <i>dacá</i> , read <i>daca</i> .
p. 712b	For <i>ánimar</i> , read <i>animar</i> .

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* * *

Die Lese der deutschen Lyrik von Klopstock bis Rilke. Edited with Introduction, Notes and Bibliography by Friedrich Bruns. (F. S. Crofts & Co., 1938. 462 pp. \$2.25.)

In a volume covering some thirty authors Professor Bruns offers a representative anthology of modern German poetry. Notwithstanding the German title the apparatus is in English. The "bis Rilke" became somewhat inaccurate when, apparently as an afterthought, three selections of 'Frau Lulu' were included.

There is, in the main an excellent balance of poets and poems. In respect of space used the order at the top is Goethe, Heine, Schiller, Keller, Mörike, Hölderlin, Meyer, Dehmel, Rilke, Eichendorff; at the bottom, Novalis, Rückert, Claudius, Klopstock, Hölty, Geibel, Hofmannsthal. The high place assigned to Heine and the low rank of Novalis ill accord with the literary judgments voiced in the Introduction, pp. 19 and 30. Hofmannsthal seems underrated: he is, rather curiously, admitted only as a sort of precursor of George ("to prepare the student for George"). The exclusion of Spitteler, a poet, after all, with an *eigner Gesang*, seems regrettable. The patriotic and social verse is, very appropriately, gathered under the caption of *Zeistimmen*. Under such a heading the logical arrangement would have been a chronological one. As it is, the image becomes blurred, one skips from 1849 (Arndt) to 1816; from 1831 (Platen) to 1821; from 1844 (Heine) to 1841. Dates are attached to these poems only here and there. The comparatively large size of the anthology has made it possible to include a number of important poems of considerable length, such as Goethe's *Die Braut von Korinth* and *Marienbader Elegie*; Schiller's *Die Kraniche des Ibykus* and *Der Spaziergang*.

The apparatus consists of an Introduction (58 pages), Notes (12 pages), and a Bibliography (10 pages). The Notes are sparse and rather haphazard. They are, to be sure, supplemented by material contained in the Introduction, no real line of demarcation between these two divisions being discernible. An Index on page 423f makes this fusion of material somewhat less serious.

The weight of the book falls on the Introduction. It is written *con amore*, especially from Goethe on. The literary judgments are by no means conventional but the personal convictions of the editor. His enthusiasm, stimulating as it often is, betrays him now and then into the unwarranted use of absolutes and superlatives that may be controverted by some other part of the text. Thus Brentano is stated to be "a lyric genius of almost unrivaled scope," while, at the same time, "an exuberant fancy is his one talent" and he "rivals Eichendorff in haunting melody." . . . In view of Schubart, and perhaps others, the statement (p. 35) that Uhland was the first poet since Walther von der Vogelweide to strike a political note is scarcely tenable. . . . That Liliencron (p. 51) "exact[ed] flawless perfection in rime" proves, upon examination, to be a fiction. . . . After the assurance (p. 59) that "in every one of her poems" Lulu von Strauss und Torney's "rhythm is unmistakably, personally her own," one is startled to recognize familiar patterns in two of the three selections: that of Heine's *Belsazar* and of the modified Nibelungen stanza.

Factual data are given with great accuracy. Only the following would seem to call for correction in a later printing: Page 10, date and title of Herder's *Volkslieder*. . . . Goethe (p. 10) contributed only one essay to the *Blätter von deutscher Art und Kunst*. . . . The date of the death of Goethe's son is 1830, not 1828. . . . The scene of Liliencron's *Die Musik kommt* (p. 48) is surely not a village. . . . Bamberg (p. 54) cannot be said to belong to Stefan George's native landscape. . . . *Willkommen und Abschied* and *Die schöne Nacht* are not written in the same stanza (p. 12), the one being iambic, the other trochaic. . . . Arno Holz's poem from *Phantasus* (p. 46) is strangely mutilated. Was its first line, "*Rote Dächer*," perhaps taken for a title?

In the Foreword to Notes (p. 423) we are warned not to expect a note on "Alaric the Goth or on William the Conqueror and the Battle of Hastings" but the remark is not to the point. There is also, to take only two examples of many, no comment on Schiller's *Kraniche des Ibykus*¹ or on Brentano's *Frühlingsschrei eines Knechtes aus der Tiefe*, and the reader is not told that Goethe's *Der Zauberlehrling* is based on a tale of Lucian. It is a question, in the first place, of the background, mythological, literary, historical, philosophical, that can be assumed in the case of the user; and, in the second place, where this does not enter, of the amount of time and effort used in ascertaining through various other media facts that are essential to the full understanding. In the present instance the result is that users of *Die Lese* will in numberless cases have to fall back upon other editions, German or English, for aid that Professor Bruns has disdained to give them. In view of this shortcoming a reference in the Bibliography to Nollen's two scholarly publications, *Schiller's Poems* and *German Poems 1800-1850* would have been in order.

The Bibliography will prove very useful to both teacher and student. The latter will probably not understand all the abbreviations (A. D. B.) used.

The volume is printed in a clear Roman type, attractively bound, and light in weight. For a book printed abroad the text is remarkably accurate. Only the *fühlt* for *fühlt'* in Klopstock's *Das Rosenband* and *küssen* for *küsse* in George's *Komm in den totesagten park* call for correction.

In conclusion a few remarks on details of the commentary.

Selection 26. The editor's surmise that the iambic rhythm of the first stanza of *Auf dem See* reflects passionate rowing will be somewhat difficult to reconcile with the older version of the lines. . . . Selection 40. Instead of the interpretation given on p. 13 of lines 41-42 of *Das Göttliche*, that duration is given to the moment by "repressing evil and furthering good," I would suggest that it is man's very ability of rendering moral judgments that gives meaning and therefore *Dauer* to what would otherwise be merely a 'phenomenal' world. . . . Selection 75. For *Der Gestirne Riesengeister* (Note: "great master minds from the various stars or the spirits of the stars themselves") compare *Hermann und Dorothea*, VI, 17f.:

Waren nicht jener Männer, der ersten Verkünder der Botschaft,
Namen den höchsten gleich, die unter die Sterne gesetzt sind?

or Egmont, V, 1: "In diesen Sternen hab' ich oft mit allen seinen Lettern ihn gelesen"; or the disputed passage in Kleist's *Prinz von Homburg*, I, 1, 57. . . . Selection 145. In Platen's *Tristan*, 1, 15, *versiechen* is not "a significant reinterpretation of *versiegen*" but merely an orthographic vagary of Platen. Compare *Der romantische Oedipus*, Act V: "Der langen Weile nie versiechender Quell." Paul's *Deutsches Wörterbuch* notes the usage for Platen. . . . Selection 175. It seems far-fetched to compare (p. 31) Heine's *Ritter Olaf* with Goethe's *Lied des Lynkeus* and to find that, like Goethe, Heine here bids "farewell to life" (in 1839?) and "blesses life." Fine as it is, the ballad is after all only the expression, raised to its highest power, of the exaltation arising from

¹The Introduction calls it Schiller's greatest ballad but misses the point that the Eumenides are the chorus.

sexual love and passion, a counterpart to that feeling of *Ewigkeit* immanent in love that is so often emphasized in German poetry. . . . Selection 210, line 15: 'infamous,' not 'famous' is Platen's implication in connection with the name of Alba. . . . Selection 256. What is one to do with the observation that two lines of Mörike's *Denk' es, o Seele* when taken together make a blank verse line? A blank verse line with a fixed caesura at the end of the third foot? . . . Selection 432. In connection with Strauss und Torney's *Mara*, a powerful, if somewhat diffuse, ballad, one wonders whether the name was not meant to be significant.

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Tales from the French Folk-lore of Missouri. By J. M. Carriere, Evanston and Chicago, 1937 (*Northwestern University Studies in the Humanities*, No. 1). Pp. viii, 354; one map. Price \$4.00 postpaid.

The work of collecting folk-tales current among the French-speaking peoples of North America has long been the concern of American and Canadian folklorists, and the comparatively recent studies of C. Marius Barbeau (*Journal of American Folk-lore*, XXIX [1916], XXX [1917], XXXII [1919]) and Gustave Lanctot (*ibid.*, XXXVI [1923], XXXIX [1926], XLIV [1931]) for French Canada are especially well known to investigators in the field. The present volume is a compilation of 73 folk tales of different sorts (predominantly *märchen*), grouped according to the Aarne-Thompson classification (*FF Communications*, 74), which Professor Carriere gathered from the quaint village of Old Mines, 65 miles south of St. Louis. Although this collection represents the first real attempt to treasure French popular tales current in the Sainte Genevieve District of Missouri, which in itself is a worthy undertaking, its larger significance lies in the fact that it focuses attention on the possibility of folkloristic research, even at this late date, in the rapidly dwindling French folk culture of the upper Mississippi valley.

This is purely a local collection and Carriere hazards no guess in his introduction as to the dissemination of such tales in the region embracing Washington, Jefferson, Saint François, and Sainte Genevieve counties, nor to their possible occurrence in neighboring localities once under French influence. To this subject he will no doubt address himself in a promised second volume dealing with an interpretation of the tales in the light of other variants from the continental French stock and that of French Canada. While a failure to adduce variants from other villages near Old Mines or from settlements in southern Illinois and Indiana where some French is still spoken would certainly not invalidate this collection, such variants would be essential to an establishing [a reconstruction] of the dissemination of this *genre* in the region, and would, at the outset, allay suspicions that the tales might ultimately be recreated *Volksgut* deriving from the printed page. However genuine such *Volksgut* may appear, the folklorist, as John Meier has pointed out ("Volkstümliche und kunstmässige Elemente in der Schnaderhüpfel Poesie," *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* [München], 1898, No. 226), is always faced with the probability of derivation from literary sources of one kind and another, and for this reason the

skeptical will look to Carriere for substantial proof of the genuine popular character of these tales. This is by no means easy, and in default of several variants which might be used to reconstruct an *Urtypus* for any of the tales circulating in the region, Carriere will be obliged to base his conclusions solely on a comparison between the five tales that Ward A. Dorrance ("The Survival of French in the Old Sainte Genevieve District," *University of Missouri Studies*, X [1935]) obtained from "Gros' Vesse," a *conteur*, and his own versions of these tales from the lips of Joseph Ben Coleman. Meanwhile he may be fortunate enough to find other popular variants and perhaps a few literary variants of early date that will confirm what seems to be the case, viz., that, except for a few Negro tales, the bulk of this lore was brought from French-Canadian sources by settlers as early as the 17th century. The author's grasp of the historical development of the region and his wide acquaintance with local historical documents, which he has freely used in his discussions, vouchsafe a careful discussion of these highly detailed points.

His two *conteurs*, Frank Bourisaw, an old man, and Joseph Ben Coleman, 40, must be considered unusually good informants, especially the latter, who narrated with ease 65 of the tales. This extensive repertory entitles him, I believe, to recognition along with Bünker's famous Oedenburg street sweeper, who, though unable to read or write, had an amazing stock-in-trade of 122 tales. Incidentally it would be interesting to learn whether Coleman, possessed as he is of some measure of sophistication—he has been in St. Louis a few times and served a year and a half with the A. E. F. in France—had ever seen a printed collection of French tales.

The collection also has linguistic value, since Carriere has reproduced the stories in a modified dialectal spelling and has included a glossary of terms peculiar to the region, among them many humorous Americanisms. Another technical feature of the book is his detailed classification of the tales as to type and component motifs. This implementation, which fills no less than 33 pages of fine type, betokens a broad knowledge of the Aarne-Thompson list and of Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (*FF Communications*, Nos. 106-109, 116-117, [his listing No. 101 is an error], Helsinki, 1932-1936). From this excellent bibliographical foundation he will turn logically to Bolte-Polivka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, 5 vols. Leipzig, 1912 ff., where he will find a wealth of supplementary material in the form of variants, together with a list of special monographs dealing with some of the more common *märchen* of his collection.

The book embodies throughout the newest techniques of folklore collecting. Moreover, Carriere conceives his problems clearly and executes them with fine scholarship. As the introductory volume to the *Northwestern University Studies* it is a work of which its editors may well be proud.

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TEXT BOOKS

FRENCH

An Introduction to French Literature of the Seventeenth Century. By Charles Bagley. (New York, Appleton-Century, 1937.)

In this *Introduction to French Literature of the Seventeenth Century* Mr. Bagley has rendered a distinct service to the teachers of undergraduate courses designed to cover in one year or one semester the Age of Classicism in France. The average student generally shies at taking a course in this particular period because from their survey courses they think the seventeenth century is very formal and forbidding. The compiler admits he had many difficulties in interesting students in the period and he "aims to present the material informally, from the standpoint of personalities and genres."

There is a short introduction to the background of the seventeenth century, then chapters dealing with literary criticism, philosophy, etc., and the book ends with a general survey in a few pages of the century as a whole. There are numerous short *extraits* illustrating each genre and copious bibliographies from which the student may choose or have chosen for him his collateral reading. It is not only useful as a text in undergraduate courses on the seventeenth century, but can be used very advantageously by students studying for comprehensive examinations leading to higher degrees and by those individuals who would like to get at least a smattering of the beginnings of modern French culture.

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* * *

Le Barbier de Seville. By P. Caron de Beaumarchais. Edited with introduction, notes, and vocabulary by Ira O. Wade. (Henry Holt and Co., 1937. Pp. xx + 219 + xxx. \$0.92.)

Professor Wade has been admirably successful in his intention "to offer to American students the correct text of the play, with notes and vocabulary designed to make the reading of it simple and enjoyable."

In a 20-page introduction the editor sums up capably and succinctly the important biographical data of a man who was successively music master of the daughters of Louis XV, friend and associate of the banker Pâris-Dunverney, comic playwright, secret agent of the police with the express function of tracking down and suppressing libels against the King, Madame DuBarry, and Marie Antoinette, astute exploiter of army contracts with the American colonists, in their war for freedom, editor of the Kehl edition of Voltaire, and foreign representative of the Committee of Public Safety. Professor Wade, in an excellent critical analysis of the play, points out that though the plot is not original, the originality of the *Barbier* lies in the treatment Beaumarchais gave the theme—in other words, it is due entirely to the genius of the dramatist. He points to the frequent use of the plot and says, "Critics are not in agreement as to whether he took it from Plautus, Molière, Cailhava, or Sedaine...

One is led to suspect that the *École des femmes* was his model and *On ne s'avise jamais de tout* his immediate inspiration." We query whether it is entirely wise to overlook the possibility of Spanish inspiration, given the locale and the type of plot.

The notes and the vocabulary have been painstakingly prepared and will serve both teacher and student well. A brief bibliography of the more important studies of Beaumarchais is added as a further aid to the teacher.

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* * *

GERMAN

An Introduction to Scientific German. By Francis J. Nock, New York University. (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1937. x + 148 pp. \$1.25.)

As the editor points out in his introduction he wants this book to serve as a guide through the difficulties encountered in scientific German for students who had one year of College German or the equivalent and "for those candidates for the Ph.D. who have had a bit of German in college and now need to pass a reading examination in German."

With this aim in view and convinced that the ordinary science reader containing notes does not serve as a guide for students, Professor Nock omits notes entirely in his book. Instead he tries to make the student more familiar with scientific German and its special peculiarities and difficulties in style, construction, and vocabulary by having the first fifteen lessons of the book followed by a number of very well planned syntactical questions which are based on the text and supposed to be answered and taken up before the actual reading is begun. For teachers who want their students to translate also from English into German, each lesson contains five English sentences after the questions based on the text. After these fifteen lessons follow nineteen pages of different reading selections without any exercises. Further effectiveness is added through a Review Grammar and Syntax contained in the first 53 pages of the book which, if studied conscientiously, should prove to give an excellent working knowledge of the reading difficulties met in the following text.

The material consists of interesting readings in the fields of Chemistry and Physics taken from three modern books, each one in turn being more difficult than the preceding one. Together with the apparently very complete and accurate German-English and English-German Vocabularies comprising 24 pages at the end of the book this Science Reader is very well edited.

The book contains unusually few typographical errors, no omissions, and only a few minor mistakes. Among them the reviewer points out: Wrong syllabication on p. 75, 1.69, (*bestimmt-esten*), a misprint on p. 120, 1.15, (*Zustandsänderungohne*), wrong spelling of *viertel* on p. 22, No. 82 in expressions of time, since here it is used as a noun and therefore should be capitalized, and the necessity of commas on p. 82, 1.39, (after *eintreten*), 1.43, (after *können*), p. 108, 1.24, (after *leistungsfähiger*), p. 109, 1.27, (after *nutzbringend*), p. 116, 1.10, (after *Volumens*), and 1.22 (after *Grösse*), and p. 120, 1.5 (after *Zylinders*).

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ITALIAN

Scrittori Italiani. Lives, Works, Texts, Anecdotes. An Italian Reader by Ginevra Capocelli. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1938.)

Ginevra Capocelli presents an Italian Reader and a brief history of Italian Literature. The first part of the book, with its 25 chapters, discusses (in Italian) the outstanding writers and offers passages from their works; the second includes questions (in Italian), to be answered by the students, anecdotes (partly in Italian, partly in English) and a vocabulary.

The book is well planned and meets the general requirements of High School and College Students of Italian. Unfortunately, however, it is marred by quite a few incorrect statements and mistakes. On page 14, for example, in the chapter on Dante, the author states that Charles de Valois was King of France (while he was the brother of King Philip the Fair) and that the Pope called the King of France to Florence (which is not only untrue but unthinkable). The comment on Dante's works is often superficial or even inaccurate. The *Vita Nova*, for instance, is said to mean, simply, "Dante's youth" and to "relate many episodes from Beatrice's life"; the *Divine Comedy* is said to have been written for the purpose of glorifying Beatrice—a misleading statement when it is not followed by a necessary explanation: that Beatrice, to Dante, was not merely the lady whom he had loved in his youth, but the symbol of that divine wisdom of which the Church should be the depository and the instrument.

Again, when the author discusses the mythological figures which appear in the *Divine Comedy*, he describes some under the aspect they had in Greek mythology and some merely with the new, diabolic features given them by Dante; the absence of the necessary distinction is bound to be misleading and confusing to the student. Besides, we find extensive comments on some of those figures and for others just a note like the following: "*Pluto*—ugly god of the underworld." Dante (the author explains) hesitates, in the second canto, to accept Virgil's guidance because he doubts whether he deserves "to enter Paradise." The doubt which he expresses is entirely different: he fears to be unworthy of that great experience which was granted to Virgil's Aeneas: that of visiting the land of the dead while he is still alive. Cato (Miss Capocelli says) "was so virtuous, courageous, and strong that the stain of his suicide was cancelled"; while, on the contrary, his suicide, far from being cancelled and forgotten, is emphasized, with praise, by Virgil: it is one of the reasons for which Cato has become the guardian of Purgatory: he, who sacrificed his life rather than live without political liberty, is the guardian of those spirits who seek moral liberty in Purgatory (redemption from sin).

Those who have been violent against others (murderers, tyrants, etc.), in the ninth circle of Hell, are said to be "continuously beaten by centaurs"—a false statement which distorts the whole vision of the Canto. The sinners are immersed in a stream of boiling blood, and they are not beaten by Centaurs; only when a sinner emerges from the stream more than he is allowed to, a Centaur shoots an arrow at him.

To such incorrect statements must be added several linguistic mistakes, some of which are evidently due to inadvertency of the writer and some to

the print. For example: P. 9: "*Fra i piu grandi poeti sono S. Francesco d'Assisi*" instead of: "*Fra i piu grandi poeti è S. Francesco d'Assisi*" (the verb is in the plural while it should be in the singular.) P. 22: "*I demoni si mettoro*" instead of: "... *si mettono*."

Finally, the selection of characteristic passages from the various authors is not always satisfactory. For some writers, long extracts are given, while some of the most important (for example Baccaccio) are not represented by a single paragraph.

FRANCO BRUNO-AVERARDI

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SPANISH

Progressive Spanish. By Samuel J. Steiner. (Harper and Brothers, 1937, xv, 201 + 118.)

Progressive Spanish is designed for the student beginning the language. As such a text it should serve best at the college level or, in high school, as a review after the first two years. The vocabulary of the text consists of one thousand and fifty basic words, seventy-two per cent of which are found among the first two thousand words of Buchanan's graded word list.

There are twenty-seven lessons, five of which are review. The plan is as follows: Section I—At least a full-page *Vocabulario*. The first lesson introduces fifty-one words, and the next three lessons average fifty additional each. The author presupposes a complete understanding of grammatical terms and concepts on the part of the student and makes no explanations anywhere. For example, the beginner is introduced on the first page of the first lesson to "*el* def. art. m.s., the; pl. *los*," and to "*un* indef. art. m.s.a, an; pl. *unos* some, a few."

By the fourth lesson the gender of nouns ending in *a* or *o* is no longer given.

A disturbing inconsistency in the *vocabularios* is, for example, "*idioma* m. language" (13) and "*mano* (la) hand" (20).

When *¡Qué!* is introduced as *How!*, it is described as used in exclamations before adverbs. Why not before adjectives?

The book recognizes the vocabulary of the modern student. For example, *conforme* is translated as O.K.

The second section is devoted to *Conjugación*. Short cuts are taken here that are not self-explanatory and may confuse the enterprising student who works ahead without the teacher's exploratory explanation. For example, "1. *soy* I am. 3. *es* he, she, it is; you are." How is the beginner to know the numbers refer to person? Acquaintanceship with the second person is withheld till the eleventh lesson.

Section III, the *Texto Español*, has a continuity through the book, introducing characters who take the reader to their home, store, theater, school, automobile driving, vacationing; and, in the last ten lessons, on a trip through Spain. The cultural reading material of these last chapters is accompanied by appropriate photographs. These and El Greco's *Vista de Toledo* as frontis-

piece and inside cover maps of Spain comprise the illustrative material of the book.

In the *Texto* and the *Conjugación* extensive use is made of bold-faced type, italics, and italics in bold-faced type, for emphasis on radical changes and other irregularities, verb endings, and words and grammatical points new in the lesson—almost to the point of confusion because of saturation and consequent loss of emphasis.

Section IV is *Conversación* based on the *Texto*.

Section V, the *Gramática*, presents its material in form of questions, which calls for thought and understanding on the part of the students rather than parrot repetition. There are certain minor inconsistencies in punctuation, such as: "He is not well today, he is ill." "No, sir, I do not speak the Italian language; I speak English." "*No, señor, no hablo la lengua francesa, hablo lo lengua inglesa.*"

Interest should be stimulated by the varied forms of *Ejercicios* in Section VI. While the last *ejercicio* is always English to Spanish, others call for substitution of correct form of verb for infinitive, completing questions with correct interrogative form, and many others.

Starting with lesson three a new section is added: "*Modismos y Locuciones.*"

In the Introduction there seems to be a confusion of the pronunciation of open and closed *e*. *Ser* and *ver* are given as examples of the open *e* of English "bet," while *en* is an example of the vowel sound of *ai* in "fair."

There is a seventy-two page grammar supplement. Many of the verb forms here are presented with stem and ending separated.

The usual Spanish-English and English-Spanish vocabularies and a five page index complete the book.

Progressive Spanish is of convenient size, attractively bound, has clear print and good paper.

MARION H. FRIEDMAN

David Starr Jordan High School

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Shorter Spanish Review Grammar and Composition. By F. Courtney Tarr and Augusto Centeno. (F. S. Crofts and Company, 1937. viii + 208 pp. \$1.25.)

In offering this shorter text, the authors have used the basic set-up of their other fine grammar and composition book, *A Graded Spanish Review Grammar with Composition*.

There are twenty lessons, each followed by a set of exercises of detached sentences which illustrate the grammar points.

Then follow twenty *Temas* which carry the student on a trip through Spain. It would add to the usefulness of the book if the map contained in the longer volume could be included in this text, also. The styles of the *Temas* is varied by using dialogue and paragraphs from diaries. Each *Tema* is supplied with a *Cuestionario* and a section to be translated into Spanish. These themes are graded as to difficulty and length.

In comparing this text with the first grammar by these authors, we find that the principal omissions are most of Part II and Part III of each lesson. This

means an omission of advanced details with exercises and the verb and idiom reviews and drills. Teachers, therefore, looking for a very brief but entirely adequate review of the essentials of Spanish grammar, will find this text well worth their attention.

RUTH EWALD

Chaffey Junior College

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El Diablo Blanco. By Luis de Oteyza. Edited by Willie Knapp Jones. (The Macmillan Company, 1934. vi + 140 pp. \$1.30.)

Thanks are due Professor Jones for editing Oteyza's novel. It might be read in fourth semester in high school as its "textual difficulties are almost non-existent." Students who were allowed to "sample" the novel agree with Professor Jones' statement — and have asked to finish it.

The story deals with the adventure of a "slightly out-at-elbows Barcelona bookkeeper" who is sent to China by his employers to discover the whereabouts of a highly esteemed merchant whose orders they no longer receive. His adventures, told by the hero, are thrilling and somewhat incredible, "but in all novels of Oteyza, chapter and page reference is available for practically every incident." The action and breathtaking moments of suspense will hold the student's interest.

The editing is satisfactory. Professor Jones has omitted some chapters, but without breaking the continuity. The exercises — questions on the fourteen chapters and idiom drills — are excellent. The vocabulary, which includes irregular verbs, and the notes seem adequate. A few illustrations lend interest. The foreword and introduction are interesting and also complete enough to acquaint the reader with the editor's plan and with the author.

El Diablo Blanco should be welcomed by teacher and student alike.

HAZEL POWER

Belmont High School, Los Angeles

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Classical Spanish Readings. By Agnes Marie Brady and Laurel Herbert Turk. (D. Appleton-Century Company, 1938. xx + 163 + 39 pp. \$1.60.)

Classical Spanish Readings contains a selection of Spanish fiction of the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, illustrating the four types of Spanish realism as portrayed in the *cuento*, the squire, the *pícaro*, and the *paso* or *entrémès*. The selections of the *cuento* are from Juan Manuel's *El Conde Lucanor*, Juan de Timoneda's *Patrañuelo*, Cervantes' *Las dos doncellas*, and Tirso de Molina's *Los tres Maridos burlados*. A sketch from *El Caballero Cifar* introducing the rustic squire Ribaldo, and another of Sancho Panza, as governor of the island are good examples of the spontaneous and naive realism which characterize the "squire" type. Simplified versions of *Lazarillo de Tormes*, Mateo Aleman's *Guzmán de Alfarache*, Cervantes' *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, and Quevedo's *La Vida del Buscón* give an excellent selection from the picaresque group with its graphic description of Spanish social conditions of the sixteenth and seventeenth

centuries. Lastly, the *paso* and *entremés* are presented in versions of *Lope de Rueda's Las Acetunas*, *El Doctor Simple* attributes to Lope de Vega, and Cervantes' *El juez de los divorcios* and *La Cueva de Salamanca*.

The vocabulary increases in difficulty but contains comparatively few words beyond the first 1500 of the Buchanan list. The footnotes explain idioms, unusual words, and uses of the subjunctive. Many of the idiomatic expressions are given twice, an excellent feature. The vocabulary is complete. The book contains no exercises or drills and few grammatical explanations. To some instructors this would seem a disadvantage.

The authors have succeeded remarkably well in simplifying the texts without losing the spirit and verve of the original. While the book is intended for first year college classes, it might well be used in many second year classes and parts of it done as extensive reading. In spite of the rather formidable title, these Classical readings should furnish excellent material, essentially Spanish in nature, not too difficult for fairly elementary classes, and varied and interesting in scope.

MARY E. DAVIS

Pasadena Junior College.

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Oxford Rapid-Reading Spanish Texts. General Editor, Aurelio M. Espinosa. (Oxford University Press, 1937. 5 vols., about 64 pp. each. Paper. 30 cents each.)

Grade I: "El Periquillo Sarniento." By Fernández de Lizardi. Edited by María López de Lowther.

"El Final de Norma." By Pedro Antonio de Alarcón. Edited by Anita Post.

Grade II: "Cuentos Castellanos." By Aurelio M. Espinosa, Jr.

Grade III: "España: Lecciones Elementales sobre la Historia de la Civilización Española." By Aurelio M. Espinosa.

"El Recién Nacido." By Ricardo Becerro de Bengoa. Edited by Arturo Torres-Rioseco and Albert R. López.

This series of graded texts has been prepared for Spanish classes in which the chief aim is the acquisition of a reading ability. Although based on word-frequency and in simple Spanish—in some cases they are adaptations—these texts seem to have preserved remarkably well the characteristic "flavor" of the language. Each one is supplied with vocabulary, idiom-lists, and questions. The editor makes several methods-suggestions, which should be helpful in using the series. The texts in Grade I are recommended for use in the second or third semesters of High School Spanish and in the first semester of College Spanish, the material in Grades II and III being progressively more difficult.

To many teachers the following texts should be of especial interest: the picaresque novel, "El Periquillo Sarniento," which, even in its very brief and simplified form, should stimulate interest in Mexican literature; the short story, "El Recién Nacido," of likely appeal to students because of its original and fan-

tastic plot; and "España," which furnishes in usable form an excellent outline, concise yet comprehensive, of Spanish civilization.

As a whole, the texts are well-edited, and attractive and usable in the selection and arrangement of material.

JEWELL COON

Claremont College

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Study Activities in Spanish. By Marjorie C. Johnston and Edith Johnston. (Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1937. Book One, \$.60, Book Two, \$.65.)

High school teachers of Spanish should give a good reception to these clever and well edited study activities books. Each consists of forty-eight *assignments* and together they cover quite thoroughly the topics usually presented in the first two years of the language in our high schools. They are intended to accompany a standard grammar and reading texts and when completed should present an excellent record of each student's progress and achievement. After each group of eight *assignments* is a test designed to check the thoroughness of the student's work. Material needed for these tests is supplied on request by the publishers.

Some of the devices used in the assignments are completions of various sorts, rearrangings, substitutions, matchings, tense or person changing, conjugating of verbs, translation of phrases and sentences from Spanish to English and English to Spanish, developing of a few ideas expressed in Spanish into a longer, detailed story, drawings, diagrams and maps to make more vivid such topics as parts of the body, clock-time, the months, the cardinal points, geography, marketing, housekeeping, etc. Especially excellent are the early drills in Book One on syllabication and pronunciation. Each of the books contains a complete vocabulary, both Spanish-English and English-Spanish.

A careful perusal of the books reveals little to which exception might be taken. In Book One, p. 27, it seems hardly reasonable to ask the student to complete for agreement "un lápiz azul," "la tinta azul," "un libro inglés"; in Book Two, p. 85 and p. 97, one would prefer *oir decir* and *oi cantar* to the forms of *oir* alone. Teachers in many parts of our country may protest the intrusion of such non-Castilian words as *bueno* (over the telephone for Hello!), *ahorita*, *cigarro* (for *cigarrillo*), *ejote*, *elote*, *jitomate*, *camote*.

The Misses Johnston and their publishers are to be congratulated on two excellent books which teachers of Spanish will welcome as interesting and valuable aids to their work.

JAMES W. CROWELL

Pomona College

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Las Cuevas de Artá. By Florence Baker. (D. C. Heath and Co., 1936, iv + text 60 pp. + exercises 8 pp. + vocabulary 15 pp. Limp cloth. \$.40.)

Designed for rapid reading, this is an interesting story of the expulsion of the Moors from Mallorca, by the Christians under James I, the Conqueror. Personal interest is centered in the family of a venerated Arab chief, Motamid, who leads his followers to a refuge in the storied caves of Artá on the east

coast. The intolerance of a conquering people is attested, and pathos enters the story, when Terik, the little grandson of Motamid, is found in the arms of his mother among the refugees who are suffocated in their retreat by the smoke fumes applied by the Christians.

The basic vocabulary is limited to the first thousand words of the Buchanan list. The text is divided into 39 short chapters, followed by 8 exercises, aimed to clarify the story and assist the student in vocabulary building.

Certain inconsistencies appear in the vocabulary. In several irregular verb forms, the person is indicated in translation, while in others it is not; the infinitive is given in some cases, and in others not; the subjunctive translation is sometimes given, sometimes not; the imperative form is named in some, and in others not. Many irregular verb forms occurring in the text are translated in the vocabulary, yet many are not.

Corrections needed in the exercises are: p. 65, "parecían" should be "se parecían"; p. 66, "habremos perdido" should be "habríamos perdido"; p. 68, "son" should be "están." A typographical error appears on p. 49 in "advertiera" for "advirtiera."

The interesting story, attractive set-up, and good print should make this volume a welcome addition to rapid-reading texts.

GENEVA JOHNSTON

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